# A PRELIMINARY STUDY IN THREE COUNTRIES INDONESIA REPORT

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#### Introduction

Indonesia is the fifth largest country in the world with a population of 118,367,850 according to the 1971 Census (Series D), and which was estimated in 1976 to have grown to 132,000,000. More than half (51%) of the population is female. As with any country, it is difficult to accurately depict people and their lives statistically. With a large and diverse country such as Indonesia, it becomes even more difficult. In attempting to draw a profile of Indonesian women using statistical sources, the problem is compounded by the fact that data on women have usually been gathered by men who may not have had direct access to the women who appear in their studies. Nonetheless, Indonesia has potentially one of the best female data bases available in the developing world with most of the Census material broken down by age and sex, giving a good starting point for analysis. However, in addition to possible distortion due to survey methodologies, certain other facts about Indonesia should be kept in mind when looking at the data, besides the normal caution in dealing with census data in general.

The Indonesian female population (more than 66,000,000 people) is frequently spoken of in the aggregate. "The Indonesian woman" commonly is used as a symbol for feminine values supposedly shared by Indonesian women of every social class and geographical area. However, it is well to remember that Indonesia's national slogan is "unity in diversity"

(Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). Indonesia's population is distributed rather unevenly among 300 ethnic groups, over 992 inhabited islands, and is as varied as the whole African continent. In terms of social characteristics, Indonesia has an underlying Malayo-Polynesian cultural unity which has been differentially modified regionally by development during the colonial period, and, since independence, by factors maintaining isolation and by religion. Indonesia is 87.5% Islamic, 7.5% Christian, and 5% Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian and other, according to the 1971 Census. Political cohesion has promoted cultural integration since independence, with a few regional interruptions, through a unified administrative structure, nationalistic policies, standards set by the government educational system, and the promotion of one official language, Bahasa Indonesia. However, diversity still is operative particularly in the rural areas where geographically localized ethnic groups, speaking about 250 vernaculars and ordered by 19 systems of customary law (adat), still reside.

Even on the island of Java which contains 64% of the total Indonesian population on 6.6% of the land area, the term "Javanese woman" is misleading. In addition to the 38.8 million women who are ethnically Javanese, living chiefly in Central Java, East Java, and Yogyakarta, there are another 12 million or more women who are largely Sudanese living in West Java. To speak of them as Javanese is to ignore the separate characteristics of these women as well as of the much smaller, but even more culturally distinctive women of the island of Madura, whose population

is counted within that of East Java. Similarly, while the island of Sumatra contains more than 10 million female inhabitants, there are marked differences between the 3.2 million largely patrilineal Batak women of North Sumatra province and the 1.4 million women of West Sumatra province, for the most part matrilineal Minangkabau. The 4.4 million female inhabitants of Sulawesi Island are often referred to as if they constituted a statistically homogeneous unit. However, Sulawesi includes the 900,000 largely Christian Minahasa women of North Sulawesi, who have achieved the highest rates of educational enrollment in the archipelago, and the 2.7 million Islamic Buginese-Makassar women of the province of South Sulawesi who must be grouped with the provinces which have some of the lowest levels of female educational achievement.

To speak, therefore, of the "Indonesian woman" or even of the "Javanese woman" is to consign to anonymity female population groups as large as some member countries of the United Nations. Even when the female population is broken down by province, it must be realized that there are great differences in characteristics between rural and urban areas as well as within rural areas which may be governed by their own particular customary law and speaking their own particular language, such as the Western and Eastern Sunda Islands whose populations, however, have been aggregated for statistical purposes. With this caveat in mind, let us proceed to a discussion of the social and legal status of women.

### Marriage Laws and Customs

Marriage in Indonesia usually is discussed in terms of ceremonial customs, stipulated by the tenets of <a href="mailto:adat">adat</a> (customary law), Islam, or longition or longition of ceremonial customs, stipulated by the tenets of <a href="mailto:adat">adat</a> (customary law), Islam, or longition or longition over the centuries, but not everywhere to the same degree. <a href="mailto:Adat">Adat</a>, which is more flexible and eclectic than Islam, prevails among nominal urban and rural Muslims, the largest percentage of the Muslim population; Islamic fundamentalism or orthodoxy is more characteristic of better-off farmers, traders and entrepreneurs in small towns and cities. Islamic modernists are generally urban professionals. The majority of Christians are urban. There are enclaves of rural Christians in Java, although the majority of rural Christians are found in the Outer Islands. <a href="mailto:Apart from religion">Apart from religion</a>, marriage customs also should be discussed in relation to level of education and urbanization, particularly since marital stability varies in relation to these factors. (See Chapter 3 Demographic Summary for discussion.)

In the still-traditional genealogical rural communities of the archipelago, characterized by clans and joint families, marriage customs differ between patrilineal descent groups, which make up the majority of such genealogical communities, and matrilineal descent groups. In patrilineal societies, where descent proceeds from a common male ancestor through the male line, such as the Toba Batak, the Balinese, Buginese, Timorese, Ambonese, and other people of the Moluccas, a bride price is paid before marriage to demonstrate that the future husband values and therefore will adequately care for his future wife. The wife brings with

her as dowry a gift of land or valuables. The men are the household heads, and the wife and husband live with, or near, the husband's family. The divorce rate is relatively low in such communities supposedly because in the event of divorce, the bride price would have to be refunded to the wife's family.

In matrilineal groups, such as the Minangkabau and Rebangan of Sumatra, and groups in certain parts of Eastern Indonesia, descent proceeds from the female founder of the clan through the female line. However, family heads are males, usually the eldest brother of the eldest woman in the clan. After marriage the groom lives in his wife's family house or village. The husbands are treated somewhat like guests, and are encouraged to continue earning income outside of the village, further afield (in the <u>rantau</u>) for their own matrilineal clan, as well as for their wife and children. In these societies there is a certain amount of tension between <u>adat</u> and Islam. Stipulations of <u>adat</u> prevail in marriage generally, while in divorce, which has a comparatively high frequency, arbitrary repudiation from the husband's side, the Islamic talak, is common.

In territorial communities such as are common on Java, parental or nuclear families are the rule, and descent proceeds bilaterally, through the male and female line equally. After marriage, the couple may live either with the wife's or husband's parents initially, most often with the wife's parents, and later they establish their own separate home. In Java, divorce frequency is fairly high among nominally Islamic villagers and poor urbanites (abangan), and more orthodox Islamic farmers and small-town businessmen (santri), and lowest among the aristocracy (prijaji), and among the educated middle and upper class, who generally tend to live in small towns and in cities.

The tendency among educated members of matrilineal and patrilineal groups who have moved to urban areas, even among the Minangkabau, is towards the creation of independent nuclear families. These may be extended, as in the case of bilateral families, by visiting relatives in town for schooling, to help with household work, or by elderly dependents. The husband is the de jure head of the household. The home is neither matrilocal or patrilocal, but may be in neighborhoods slightly related to geographical area of origin, or ethnic group. Generally, urban homes are established wherever accommodations are available. While in some parts of Indonesia women retain their maiden name after marriage, in urban educated families the wife takes her husband's family name.

In Christian households where marriage is governed by the Marriage Ordinance for Christian Indonesians, and in households of European or Chinese ancestry, or of Indonesians who have opted for European law, and are governed by the Civil Code, marriage must be monogamous. Both partners have equal access to the law in cases of divorce, but the actual rate of divorce is low.

In orthodox Islamic marriages, the husband agrees contractually to support his wife or wives, and to treat them equally, and not leave the home for more than two years at a time. These stipulations contrast with adat in which, particularly in matrilineal and bilateral communities, there is no requirement that the husband support the wife. In Muslim marriages, in contrast with those conducted in accordance with adat, the bride is not present, but acts through a male representative, a wali. The bridegroom enunciates to the wali the conditions which will force him

to dissolve the marriage by verbal repudiation (talak). The use of talak is fairly common among the majority of Muslim men, especially the poorer and nominal Muslims; better off orthodox Muslim men may resort to polygamy in preference to divorce. Tradition requires that after marriage the wife, and not the husband, restrict relations with the opposite sex. She also wears decorous clothing, has her head covered in public, and orients her life towards her husband and children. There are no such requirements in adat, although there are some tendencies in conservative Christianity towards social pressures to produce similar behavior, if not dress. There also are a relatively small percentage of marriages as a result of elopement and abduction, as well as consensual unions.

In the village studies which delineate ceremonial marriage customs and even in the most recent quantitative surveys of marriage and divorce, there is little information given which helps understand why Indonesian women's groups have been fighting since the second decade of this century for a comprehensive marriage law. Invariably, even in groups in which marriages are unstable and divorce rates high, it is emphasized that while men have the right to arbitrarily divorce women, women have ways, when they are unhappy with their partners, to pressure their husbands to divorce them, or they simply leave. There is no stigma attached to divorce. After divorce, or separation, it is presumed that women return to live with their parents, and, in any case, remarriage rates are comparatively high. One is left with the impression that all is in balance. In fact, the tenacity of enlightened women in agitating for a

comprehensive marriage law, and the degree of mass feminine support for this prolonged effort was due to dissatisfaction with the needless distress caused by four aspects of marriage in unenlightened households in Indonesia: child marriage, forced marriage, polygamy, and arbitrary divorce exclusively from the husband's side. These customs also were regarded as backward in relation to modern international trends. Furthermore, the lack of codification of <u>adat</u>, and of Islamic stipulations concerning marriage and divorce, prevented women from knowing what their rights were.

First, enlightened women wanted child marriage completely abolished on humanitarian grounds. A survey conducted near Yogyakarta as recently as 1973 found that approximately 23% of girls are married in traditional rural areas before their first menstrual period, while 18% were married before 15 years of age. While a high percentage of these marriages are not consummated, or end in early divorce, a certain number of these child brides do become pregnant after puberty, and because of their immaturity also account for a percentage of the statistics on maternal mortality. (See discussion in Health and Family Planning, below.) A certain proportion of infant deaths are directly attributable to this custom, as well. Neither Islamic law nor adat contain stipulations concerning a minimum age for marriage nor forbid the marriage of biologically immature children, with the exception of Balinese adat where marriage with a pre-adolescent There also is a tendency in certain traditional girl is punishable. patrilineal societies to delay marriage until the bride price is accumulated.  $^{7}$ In the past, a stipulated age of marriage, 15 for women, and 18 for men,

only was binding on those of European or Chinese ancestry who were regulated by the Civil Code, or Indonesians who had opted for regulation under 8 European law, or Indonesian Christians regulated by the Marriage Ordinance. However, in certain rural areas where education is valued and in the cities the tendency has been to delay marriage until after the girl has finished primary school, and for the middle and upper classes, marriage usually 9 takes place after secondary school or university.

Secondly, the women's movement wanted forced or parentally arranged marriage, without prior consultation with prospective partners, abolished. Parents marry off girls at a young age because they feel that if she is attractive it will be difficult to control her relations with the opposite sex; if she is not attractive, they are ashamed to have a girl of marriageable age in the family past puberty. Furthermore, marriage is considered a matter between families, a way of regularizing relationships to each family's advantage, a way to maintain social harmony, and at the same time validate family status. At the time marriage is contemplated, some families may be in need of money and hope to recover, through their daughter's expensive wedding, some of the value of the gifts they gave to the daughters of relatives and neighbors previously. The psychological trauma for the girl of being placed in intimacy with a stranger is not considered, nor is the fact that such marriages generally end in divorce. In a survey conducted in a village near Yogyakarta, 69% of all marriages were arranged by parents; 78% were first marriages, and out of that percentage, 45% ended in early divorce. Parents also arrange 58% of the second marriages, 46% of the third, and 36% of the fourth to sixth marriages, thereby cumulatively compounding the ill effects of a custom which contributes to the high divorce rate.

Forced marriage also accounts for a great deal of suffering, as Raden Adjeng Kartini, the founder of the Indonesian women's movement, recounted in her letters. Since her time, enlightened women have persuaded their parents to allow them to choose their own future husbands, and have agitated for the abolition of this custom. However, investigators have pointed out that while enforced marriage is the major cause of divorce, when Indonesian women with little or no education choose their spouses they do so almost impulsively, without giving themselves much opportunity to become acquainted. The implication is that being free to fall in love and marry will not be much of an improvement in terms of an increase in the rate of marital stability.

However, among urban girls with a senior high school education and above, who have met their future husband at school or college, love ll marriages increasingly are the rule. Their rate of divorce is much lower. While such girls constitute a small percentage of all marriageable young women, as general educative efforts take effect and the number of women with a higher education rises, there should be an improvement in the level of marital stability.

A third custom related to marriage in Indonesia which women wanted to have abolished was polygamy (polygyny). It is forbidden by the Civil Code and Christian Marriage Ordinance. However, it is condoned by <u>adat</u>, and traditional Indonesian aristocrats in isolated areas may 13 have more than five wives. The Islamic religion emphasizes that this custom provides security to women who might otherwise be abandoned after a temporary alliance. Nevertheless, while Muslim women are required to be monogamous, Muslim men are permitted up to four wives, and they have more without fear of punishment since there is insufficient awareness of

Islamic law, and of means to prevent violations. Only a small percentage of wealthy men are able to keep such households according to the stipulations of Islam which require that all the wives should be cared for equally. Generally, each wife has her own house and lives apart from each other. In a large compound, such as Kartini grew up in, the wives lived together, but with separate quarters. Secondary wives generally are of a lower social status than the first wife.

In addition to formal polygamy, estimated at about 5% of all marriages in Indonesia, there is a kind of serial polygamy that goes on, informally, as a result of rural male patterns of migration to other, usually urban areas, with stays of up to eleven months. As a result, another household is established, and the income for the original rural household is reduced. Peripatetic male traders may also follow this pattern.

Indonesian women have been against polygamy principally because the first wife often is not consulted before secondary wives are married. This sudden <u>fait accompli</u> is intensely embarrassing, and causes great psychological distress. There is a constant fear that they will be displaced in their husband's affections, ignored, or even repudiated, ultimately. Furthermore, not all wives in polygamous marriages are treated equally, and therefore their welfare, and that of 15 their children is jeopardized.

The fourth custom which Indonesian women have fought to abolish was arbitrary divorce, or divorce by repudiation, <u>talak</u>, initiated solely from the male side. Among the roughly 10% of the people of the archipelago who are governed by the Civil Code or the tenets of Christianity, divorce theoretically could be initiated either by the wife

or husband, but was difficult, since each case has to be decided on its own merits, at a court of law. For the remaining 90% of the population, divorce is either carried out according to the tenets of adat or Islam. Although marriage in the majority of cases is carried out according to the stipulations of adat in patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral families, with Islamic additions, divorce, while possible through mutual consent under adat, more often is carried out according to the stipulation of Islam. Theoretically, the most commonly used form of divorce, the talak, can only be carried out for just cause. In fact, the talak has been used in the past as a one-sided action, at will, with no grounds for action required. The possibility of talak at any time during marriage makes Indonesian women insecure. Talak has been carried out for reasons of incompatibility of temperment, as becomes evident after a forced marriage; attraction to a new partner; the wife's barreness, lack of virginity, or failure to produce sons; her physical deformities; she is thought to cause her husband bad dreams; violation of because a marriage right; arguments over sites of residence or income; parental interference; or as a result of adultery. If a wife is adulterous, she can be divorced, and even killed in certain remote areas, if caught in the act. She also is liable to punishment under the Penal Code. In contrast, Muslim husbands may commit adultery with unmarried women without prosecution. Only husbands whose marriage laws require monogamy technically are subject to punishment.

Divorce from the wife's side (<u>ta'lik talak</u>, <u>rapak</u>, <u>pasah</u>, <u>chue</u>) is quite difficult. The wife does not have the privilege of verbal repudiation. In fact, she must have her husband's consent, generally.

She must travel some distance to a Muslim judge with her complaint. The burden of proof is on her side, and she must have two witnesses to uphold her brief. She must prove, for example, that her husband has been absent for six consecutive months, has not supported her for three months, has physically abused her, has ignored her sexually, was impotent, or was unjustified in taking secondary wives. She must pay more for divorcing her husband than he would pay to divorce her, if he went to court. For example, if the husband registered the talak he would pay 900 rupiah; if the wife initiated the divorce she could pay over 2,000 rupiah, or higher. If her case goes to the superior Islamic religious courts she confronts an all-male panel of judges, since in the history of such courts, established in 1882, only 12 women have been appointed to them in a juridical capacity.

After the <u>talak</u> has been enunciated the husband is obligated, technically, to support his former wife for a period of three menstruations, around one hundred days, or if she is pregnant, only for forty days after confinement. There is no requirement for the payment of alimony. The husband has the right to remarry his wife twice. In the past, the overall divorce rate has been over 50%, but varying from area to area. In 1954, Java had a divorce rate of 55%, Sulawesi 19%, and the whole of Sumatra, 19 31%; however, the Minangkabau area of Sumatra had a rate of 40%.

After earlier attempts to forge and pass a new marriage law had failed, the women's organizations pressured for full implementation of the requirement under Law 22/1946 that marriages and reconciliations be registered at the local branch of the Bureau for Religious Affairs  $\frac{20}{\text{Kantor Urusan Agama}}$ , KUA). However, the penalty for non-registration was small (about  $10\phi$ ), and divorces carried out without registration

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were still valid. Therefore the women's organizations began an intensive campaign to educate women concerning their rights. In 1955, as a result of these pressures the KUA put the talik-talak on the back of the marriage contract. It stated that the wife could divorce the husband if he did not support her, mistreated her, deserted her or sexually ignored her for six months. However, few women were courageous enough, or had the initiative to take advantage of this development. The women's organizations also were influential in setting up the Badan Penasehat Perkawinan dan Penyelesaian Penceraian, BP4 (The Advisory Board on Marriage and Divorce) as an auxilliary to the KUA in 1954 in order to accomplish through counselling what had not been effected through legal procedure.

The BP4 has been quite effective in reducing the number of divorces, in and around the urban areas in which they have established their offices. The percentage of divorces in relation to marriages and reconciliations has declined from 34% in 1970 to 27% in 1974, according to statistics from 23 the Department of Religious Affairs. However, other sample surveys 24 in rural areas would put the rate at least as high as 37%. A somewhat larger percentage of women as compared to men are divorced, and rural women have a slightly higher divorce rate than urban women according to the 1971 Census. (See Chapter 3 Demographic Summary)

After a prolonged effort which started in the late 1920's, a draft marriage bill was presented to Parliament (<u>Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat</u>, <u>DPR</u>) in July 1973. It attempted to unify the stipulations concerning marriage of the diverse legal systems of Indonesia (19 <u>adat</u> law areas, Islamic Law, the Civil Code, and the Christian Marriage Ordinance). The Muslim community opposed its ratification vociferously, singling out their opposition to the articles which required civil registration to validate marriage, since

it was not a requirement of Islamic law; the requirement that civil court permission be sought before a Muslim man could marry secondary wives, or before a Muslim man or woman could seek divorce; and the article which made engagement legally binding, and required the man to marry his pregnant fiancee, if she desired it. They objected strongly to the article which permitted interreligious marriages. They were against the article which severed the relationship of adopted children with their natural parents, and allowed them to inherit from their adoptive parents. This article also prohibited marriage between adopted children and adoptive parents or siblings.

Due to Muslim opposition a compromise was reached which greatly diluted the unifying effect of the original bill since all of the above provisions adjudged contrary to Islamic law and custom were deleted. However, in the national Marriage Law (Law No. 1, 1974) which was passed in December 1973 there were some quasi-reforms for Muslims: while arbitrary divorce and polygamy would be regulated by the religious courts rather than the civil courts, the husband still had to seek permission first before instituting action. The 1974 Marriage Law leaves the stipulations concerning marriage and divorce of the Marriage Ordinance for Christians and of the Civil Code almost intact with the exception of raising the minimum age for marriage, and the theoretical granting of the opportunity to divorce to Catholics.

The effect of the 1974 Marriage Law has not as yet been **ass**essed since implementing legislation was not passed until October 1975 (Government Regulation No. 9/1975). At present, observers note there appears to be insufficient personnel and infrastructure to implement the

stipulations of the new law effectively, particularly in regard to the religious courts. As this situation is improved, the Marriage Law's beneficial aspects will be realized in the codification of Islamic and adat laws concerning marriage, thereby making it easier for women and men to know their rights and responsibilities. It is thought that now at least the potential for equitable consistency in court decisions would be created.

The 1974 Marriage Law has the effect, through Article 2, which requires that all marriages be carried out according to a person's religion, of making mixed marriages difficult, and of widening the sphere of influence of religious courts. This will enhance the role of such courts in the lives of nominal Muslims, the urban well-educated strata of the population throughout the archipelago, and the majority of the population of Central and East Java.

The 1974 Marriage Law has uniform stipulations valid for all religious groups: the minimum age of marriage is 16 years for women and 19 years for men, although dispensation can be obtained from a religious court, or the KUA, for example, if the woman is already pregnant. Polygamy now only is permitted for specific reasons: the wife can not produce children; perform her conjugal duties; is crippled or terminally ill; the husband has his first wife's permission, and will treat all wives equally. In addition, it is noteworthy that Presidential Decree No. 19 of 1952, which extended pensions to the several widows of polygamous civil servants, was not abrogated by the new law.

the regulation which would eliminate forced marriage is weakened by the stipulation that it only has validity if it is not in conflict with the tenets of the partner's religious law. Since Islamic law permits forced marriage, this stipulation may prove to be ineffectual.

Divorce now is possible on a more equal basis for either the wife or husband through petition to the Islamic religious courts. However, since the courts are staffed for the most part by male judges who felt the talak should have been retained, it remains to be seen whether women will receive divorces as easily as men. The new law, however, empowers the courts to require the former husband to pay alimony after divorce, if it is deemed necessary, as in divorce under the Civil Code or Marriage Ordinance for Christians. A further departure from matrilineal, patrilineal, and parental custom in the new law is the concept that both parents are responsible for the protection and education of the children after divorce, with financial responsibility falling in the first instance on the father, and only if he defaults, on the mother. In divorce in parental families in Java, generally the children have been left with the mother, who in the past has usually had to support them without benefit of alimony payments.

It is uncertain to what extent local rural religious officials will be willing to implement all the stipulations of the new national marriage law. In the past, they have held conservative attitudes which valued men's opinions over those of women (two women witnesses were required to offset the weight of testimony of one male witness), and gave more consideration to the desires and needs of men in marriage and divorce than women.

Finally, although the new Marriage Law appears to make marriage between people of different religious backgrounds difficult, it does not seem to abrogate Law of Nationality No. 62, 1958, which states that marriage or divorce between a national and a foreigner does not automatically affect the nationality of the woman, but that she has the right to choose between the two nationalities.

#### Child Custody

In the case of divorce, or the death of the father, small children 26 are taken care of by their mother in the first instance. If she dies, or for some reason is unable to care for them, the father would take over, particularly if he remarries. Otherwise, and in the instance of his death, as well, the children would be taken care of by members of the matrilineal or patrilineal joint families to whom they belong by descent, or by the parents of either the wife or husband in a bilateral family, depending on capability. In the case of the death of both parents, the child might be adopted. Older children can be assigned to either parent as part of the divorce settlement, or can go to kin group members. If one parent's guilt is the cause of divorce, the children are likely to go with the wronged partner, if they are able to care for them. The children's feelings are taken into consideration in such matters.

As noted previously the 1974 Marriage Law departs from Javanese tradition in requiring the father to bear financial responsibility for his children after divorce, and making both partners responsible for the children's protection and education.

The adoption or borrowing of children is very common in Javanese society, as well as throughout Indonesia. It is thought to bring luck. In childless families the adoption of a child is regarded as fostering caring attitudes for the child which might influence conception. In childless families of long standing, the adoption of a child is thought of as assuring care in old age. Children also are adopted to provide company to a young wife, help her with household chores, to provide a home if their own family is impoverished or unable to care for them for other reasons, to provide them with a home in town while they go to school, or in families without sons, to carry on the family name. In Javanese society, a dukun (a healer) may prescribe a change of parents for a sickly child. Generally, the children adopted are nephews, nieces, younger siblings of either parent, or grandchildren. It is thought the child will be better cared for if adopted by a woman on the female side of the family. Stepmothers are regarded as treating their own children and adopted relatives better than their husband's children.

Adopted or borrowed children generally return to their natural parents after a period of time, or at least renew contact at some point in their lives. If the natural patents die, or sever ties completely, then the adoption might become permanent, as it would be from the beginning if the adoption was made by non-kin after a cash payment. However, the sale of children only occurs when parents are impoverished and completely without means to care for them.

#### Legal Rights

The 1945 Constitution (Art. 27, par. 1) guarantees equal rights to citizens in all fields regardless of sex, ethnic background, or religion; presumably, regardless of marital status, as well. The law makes a distinction between adult women and minors, but none between married and unmarried women, except in matters of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. However, social traditions and conventions can, and do, make a difference in the exercise of women's legal rights.

Indigenous Indonesian traditions found in <u>adat</u> are remarkably egalitarian in terms of sexually delineated rights, responsibilities, and occupational tasks. The spirit of this tradition has penetrated the Islamic religion in Indonesia to the extent that not even orthodox Muslim women are veiled or segregated in purdah. The majority of Indonesian women move freely in society in most daily situations. The participation of Indonesian women in the labor force, approximately 32% of women 10 years and over, is relatively high for a Southeast Asian and Muslim country; only around 5% of the women are in the non-agricultural work force in Muslim Middle Eastern countries. <sup>28</sup>

Actually it is not the principles embodied in <u>adat</u> or Islam which prevent women from exercising their rights, so much as the fact that both traditions, with few exceptions, have condoned social conventions which institutionalize inequality through pushing women more rapidly than men into adulthood through forced and child marriages. Thereafter, their freedom is somewhat curtailed by childbearing and family obligations.

Surveys conducted in Java and Sumatra in the 1960's indicate that both 29 of these customs have been continuing. In one study conducted near Yogyakarta in 1973, there was little indication that there had been a trend towards fewer forced marriages, or a later age of forced marriage, 31 although in urban areas the age of first marriage is rising. Perhaps this custom has come about because life expectancy is so short, in the rural areas in particular, and only adulthood carries privileges.

It is customary in conservative groups to regard only a married woman as a complete person with full rights in the community, and in some areas 32 only a woman with children would be considered a full citizen. In practice, unmarried women have only partial rights in traditional communities, and even in modern urban situations they may receive less compensation for their efforts in many endeavors than married women. Since age is honored in traditional Indonesian communities, young unmarried women would not attempt to lay claim to the same rights as older women, even if the older women were unmarried.

Social class and rural-urban residence make a difference in the exercise of legal rights. While <a href="mailto:prijaji">prijaji</a> (aristocratic) women play a more dependent role in marriage, they are more knowledgeable of their rights, and have more time to enjoy them since they have servants to care for their children. Similarly, upper class and professional women would have the time, means, motivation, and knowledge to sustain their legal rights. Poorer women might be more assertive in family life, but totally unaware of protective legislation which might improve their situation. Also, knowledge often is not enough; one must have influence and connections, as well, or a patron.

Young unmarried women with a higher education, who live in the largest cities, are more mobile and less subject to criticism if they act on their rights than unmarried women in better-off households in small towns and rural areas, who would be afraid of being mobile for fear of being treated as potential sex objects. Such young women would be more circumspect in their behavior, either staying at home, if not in school, or, when going out, going in pairs rather than alone, if they were concerned to keep their reputation. They would rarely go out for a stroll in the evening for fear that provincial men would hoot at them, and throw little stones at their heels.

Girls on all levels in the majority of instances are socialized to take care of the cooking in the household from an early age, and to 34 care for younger siblings, as training to be wives and mothers. They are taught to be accommodating, to submerge their own desires when young, in order to maintain harmonious social relationships. While women in matrilineal societies, and older women in general are more assertive, young women are taught their role is secondary and supportive 35 to men.

Women's right to work, guaranteed by the Constitution (Articles 21, (1), (2) and 31), is curtailed by traditional attitudes. Women working outside the home in agriculture, in raising animals, and in trade, and handicraft, and to a lesser extent in teaching and nursing, has always been acceptable; but women working in factories, offices, and other modern non-agricultural endeavors outside the home has only been acceptable in larger urban areas throughout the archipelago, as well as the small towns and rural areas of Bali and Java. In other more conservative areas, such

work might be considered unfeminine. It is felt a woman's primary obligation is to see to the health and education of her children and the comfort of her husband. If she can somehow manage a money-earning activity, such as catering, from her home, which does not impair the harmony of her household, she is highly thought of.

Apart from social conventions, poverty prevents women as well as men from enjoying their rights in almost every sector of life, except, perhaps, voting. Poor women are more subject to exploitation because of the oversupply of unskilled labor. They will take whatever income earning opportunity they can get -- under any conditions. Poor women inherit very little, cannot afford to pay for a divorce or school fees, particularly for their daughters, are intimidated by modern health facilities and personnel, and have no collateral for low interest loans. They lack knowledge, mobility, funds, and feel ashamed to ask for help. Furthermore, they have few advocates.

A last impediment to women's full realization of their legal rights is the lack of widespread knowledge of existing legislation, and lack of sufficient legal, judicial, and police personnel to implement the reforms affecting and guaranteeing women's status. Besides mass awareness of women as to their rights, there is still work to be done. Awaiting reform, aside from inheritance, is revision of the Penal Code to change those sections which currently make adultery from the wife's side, abortion, and the dissemination of contraceptives to women under 17 years of age, 37 technically illegal, and subject to punishment. In the past, it has been the women's organizations, rather than officialdom or the judiciary, who have been vigilant in bringing to public attention any infringement on the legal rights of women, and sustaining protest until reforms are

implemented. It is uncertain whether the women's movement will remain as unified and effective in the future, as before. There is now a division within the women's movement between those women who are organized in auxiliaries of their husband's profession or government agency and who at times help their husband's institution to implement policy, and the older women's groups which are organized along feminist lines and which have led the struggle for equality in the past.

## Property Ownership

There are three major kinds of property in Indonesia which women may own, share, or have the use rights of: personal property; joint or common property, as accummulated by husband and wife in marriage; and communal property.

In patrilineal, matrilineal, and bilateral communities, and under Islamic law, a woman retains title to her own personal property after marriage. However, in patrilineal and matrilineal communities, if the property she uses is communal, originating from her own kin group, as is usually the case with land, she must consult her kin group if she wishes to change its status, since the kin group retains ultimate ownership. Since the 1920's, a growing amount of communally owned property has been converted to individual ownership, more often male than female ownership. However, there still are many hectares of communally owned land in the Outer Islands. Personal property which is without ties to the kin group may be disposed of as the woman wishes, except in Bali, where personally acquired property is regarded as common property after three

years of marriage. However, Javanese women own property and dispose of it as freely as men. In contrast, married women subject to the Civil Code were treated until recently as their husband's dependents. Their personal property became joint property, unless stipulated otherwise. They were not allowed to own and dispose of property, nor appear before the court in civil cases until 1963, even though they had equal rights with men in contracting marriage and initiating divorce.

# Control of Income

Common or joint property usually is considered property acquired during marriage through gifts or both partners' efforts, and lived in or used for household needs. However, the situation varies in regard to income. In Aceh, the husband's income belongs to himself personally unless his wife contributed the residential compound to their household. In West Java, if the wife contributed more, materially, to the marriage than the husband, the husband's income would go to her. In <a href="mailto:prijaji">prijaji</a> households, the husband's income is considered his own. The woman generally contributes her income towards household expenses, and since she manages household finances, manages whatever is left of her own income as well.

In fact, married women often discharge their own debts as well as those of family members, since the majority of men hand over their earnings to their wives, and rely on women's financial abilities in managing 39 household disbursements and savings. Therefore, many men tend to be dependent on their wives financial acumen, even in some instances, in certain Javanese households, to the extent of having their wives help 40 pay off personal debts.

These facts are important to keep in mind when development planners consdier the design and implementation of projects aimed at affecting the growth and use of family income.

## Inheritance and Disposal of Wealth

There is no comprehensive inheritance law. The women's organizations have scheduled the next concerted campaign towards effecting such legislation, but to date their effort has been weak compared to the prolonged agitation for the comprehensive marriage law. The Institute for the Development of a National Law has drafted an inheritance law which incorporates the principles of equal shares for men and women, but it has not yet been placed on the parliamentary agenda. Therefore, there still are differing laws concerning inheritance for different groups. The regulations for those of European and Chinese descent are codified, the laws for the rest of the Indonesian population, including Indonesian Christians, are uncodified.

In patrilineal societies, such as the Toba Batak, the kin group owns the land and men have the primary use right. Only sons inherit from the personal property of their fathers. However, the Toba Batak wife customarily brings with her into marriage a dowry of land or valuables which is hers to manage during her lifetime, but passes to her husband at her death, and to sons after his death. The husband must consult with his former wife's kin group if he wants to make use of the land. If there are no children, the land returns to the kin group.

The wife's personal possessions are inherited by her children, or, if there are no children, by her husband. Only an eldest son may inherit in some communities, such as Bali, while in others only the youngest son can, as in some Batak groups. In general, the son who remains at home gets the largest share, and takes care of the unmarried women of the family. A daughter can ask for a portion of the estate in a patrilineal family, and may get it, and may even inherit, as is true for the eldest daughter in some Dayak communities.

In matrilineal communities, the kin groups retain title to the land, and the daughters and sons inherit use-rights from their mother's family. The modern tendency since the 1920's has been for the father to give gifts (hibah) to his favored children, particularly though not exclusively, to his sons during his lifetime. He also makes the decisions about higher schooling since he has more worldly experience as a result of earning income outside the village in the rantau, and pays school fees. It has begun to be customary for the father to will substantial gifts to his own children, often to his sons, although traditionally the bulk of his earnings goes to his own kin group to support his sister's children.

The personal property of women is subject to disposal by the kin group in traditional matrilineal areas, and goes to daughters in the majority of instances, but sometimes to sons. In urban areas, inheritance for members of matrilineal descent groups increasingly follows the bilateral pattern. 42

<sup>\*</sup>In Bali, a daughter may be ceremonially "elevated" to the status of a son for inheritance purposes.

In bilateral communities both wife and husband could own land, and both sons and daughters inherit equally, theoretically. In actuality, the division of property at inheritance is situational; those in greatest need get largest shares. There are reported instances when parents may wish to leave the largest share to their daughters because they feel their needs, as a result of frequent divorces, will be greater.

Islamic law does not formally recognize the concept of joint property. However, in adat, which has been strongly influenced by Islam, the men inherit two shares of the joint property and the women one share, reflecting conceptions of relative contributions. Justification utilizes the image of men carrying loads in two baskets from a shoulder pole, while women carry one load on their back, as in Java, or on their head, as in Bali. According to adat, however, female and male children should inherit the joint property of their parents in equal shares. There often are disputes as to whether adat or Islamic stipulations are applicable, and the outcome is dependent on the personalities and needs of the people involved. In polygamous families, only the children of the first wife inherit. If the first wife adopts the secondary wives' children as her own, they can 44 inherit, as well.

Children are the primary inheritors. The widow has no right to her husband's personal property, which goes to the children. Her share of the joint property varies from a small portion to one half; the rest is divided among the children. If there are small children to care for, she is left in <u>de facto</u>, though not <u>de jure</u> possession of the undivided joint property so that she may support herself and her dependents. Usually, she is entitled to a share from income from joint property during her life time.

If there are no children in a bilateral family, the widow can inherit all the property. In patrilineal and matrilineal societies the property ultimately reverts to kin groups. The tendency in civil law is towards providing a share for the widow equal to what children inherit.

As noted, Muslims do not feel adopted children should inherit from adoptive parents, except in the case of the adoption of the children of secondary wives by the first wife in polygamous marriages. Generally, adopted children inherit from their natural parents to whom at some point in their lives they return. Only in South Sumatra does the adopted child sever relations with natural parents and inherit from the adoptive parents. However, the adoptive parents can make grants to adopted children during their lifetime. Adopted children rarely inherit from adoptive parents because there are so many other claims on the estate.

Communal property ceded to an individual, whether female or male, remains in their possession at divorce, in fact until death, when it reverts to the kin group. Personal property remains with the individual at divorce. As for joint property, the guilt or misbehavior of one party may mean that they forfeit all. Generally the wife receives one share to the husband's two shares, or it can be divided equally depending on situation, needs, and the personalities of the people involved. According to Article 27 of the National Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974, adat and religious law control the disposition of joint property after divorce, which means that matters continue as described above, except that the personal property of women subject to the Civil Code now remains in their 46 possession after divorce.

## Tax Liability

Women are as liable as men to taxation from income, property, and earnings, since they are legal personages. They prefer to operate without a license, and if licensing is required, and if they are married, they prefer to have their husband apply for it. Since they operate many enterprises from their homes on an informal basis, they probably are not taxed as much as men for their business activities. For this reason, foreign entrepreneurs often use Indonesian women as their business partners. However, tax evasion is a well-practiced and skillful art in Indonesia.

## Access to Credit

Technically, women have the same access to credit facilities as men, but since they tend to own proportionately less property which is considered usable as collateral, they are discriminated against by male-dominated credit institutions. For example, women usually own the garden land around their houses more often than rice fields, but most rural credit institutions will only use rice fields as collateral. In an urban situation, unmarried women civil servants are not able to acquire a separate house as easily as a man, and therefore lack adequate collateral for a loan from some lending institutions. Generally, as far as social conventions go, a man's actions are considered more binding than a woman's, and this attitude affects the accessibility to credit. There are some women-specific credit institutions. Pawn shops and money lenders, and their own informal means of credit are available to women, as well. (See Chapter 2 for discussion of women's credit institutions.)

## Political Participation

In Indonesian society, there has not been as much concern with sex-specific roles in every field, including allocation of family tasks, 47 as there is in western society. If an individual has the necessary characteristics for a task, such as political leadership, then they undertake it, and their doing so is not regarded as unusual. However, there is general agreement that women are more oriented towards children and household, and men play the public role, oriented towards the larger 48 world of community and society.

Historically, exceptional women have been political leaders. In precolonial times there were Javanese women who were royal leaders of great kingdoms, and in the 17th century the Dutch encountered a woman ruler in Aceh (North Sumatra) who had held the position for fifty years. In the 19th century there were women army leaders in Aceh, and female chiefs in the Buginese areas of South Sulawesi (Celebes) and in Kalimantan (Borneo). There were princesses who ruled the Minangkabau people (West Sumatra), and Balinese and Kalimantan royal leaders who were women.

During the Dutch colonial period, Indonesian women were not given any defined political role. Perhaps, it never occured to the Dutch to do so, considering the situation in Europe. The Dutch invested men with many leadership positions in the Indonesian ruling hierarchy, particularly in Java, often making them heriditary, from the position of Bupati (Regent) down to, in some instances, Lurah (village leader). Only in certain areas outside Java were women somewhat emancipated up through the 20th century.

For example, Christian Ambonese women were members of the Church, and could govern the villages with the aid of the village council. The Buginese women of South Sulawesi continued to be village chiefs and royal leaders, although not in as great numbers as the male members of their community. Dyak women played an active role in municipal assemblies.

In the second decade of the 20th century, when women's emancipation became identified with Indonesian nationalist aspirations, the women formed sections of Indonesian nationalist organizations, and their own goals were supported by male nationalists. Some women became deeply involved in nationalist activities, and were imprisoned for their writings. The Dutch tried to mollify the radicalism of Indonesian nationalists by adopting an evolutionary policy. Therefore, they allowed Indonesians to participate in government on a limited basis, and decreed that women were eligible for election, but could not vote. A few women became members of municipal councils. It was only at the very end of the colonial period in 1941 that Indonesian women were granted the right to vote by the colonial government, as well as to stand for election and hold elective office.

After independence in 1945, this right was re-validated by the Indonesian Constitution (Article 23, paragraph 1) and by subsequent legislation (Law No. 27/1948 jo. Law No. 12, 1949). Indonesia also ratified the United Nations Convention on Political Rights of Women of 1952 by Law 68 in 1958.

Indonesia has had four women cabinet ministers in the history of the Republic to date, although none since 1966. Four women held positions as Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Director General, and Inspector General of a Ministry, but at the end of 1974, only two were left. A woman was appointed ambassador from 1959 to 1964, and another from 1967 to 1970.

Women have been represented as appointed and elected members of 50 parliament, up to the present time, although their level of participation appears to have been higher in parliament between 1960 and 1965, when they comprised 9.6% of the parliament, than today. The women's organization coordinating body, KOWANI (Kongres Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Congress) was represented in parliament from 1967 to 1971. After the 1971 elections women comprised 7% of the parliament body.

Women have not been well represented in political parties, preferring to form auxiliaries or politically active women's organizations along party lines which help with voter registration, teach illiterate voters party symbols, and promote partisan political education. The number of female as compared to male candidates always has been small. Furthermore, their names are usually put at the bottom of the electoral list, which is the least advantageous position. According to the General Election Law of 1969, every literate Indonesian 17 years and above could vote, as well as those of younger age who were married. Eighty per cent of the eligible women voted. However, many wives are reported to have voted the way their husbands did.

There is one woman out of 27 members of the Supreme Advisory

Council. In 1971, not a single rural woman was elected to the Parliament.

About 10% of the members of the Local Legislative and Municipal

Councils are women. There are women village heads and women members

of village councils in certain regions, but usually they are in the

minority. On the provincial level, the Provincial House of

Representatives (D.P.R.D., Tingkat I) women were 9.8% of the membership

51
in 1974 with West Java having the highest proportion of women at 19.9%.

Although women are nowhere represented in relation to their numerical majority of the population, observers report they exert covert influence on male political decisions. Women also state that being a politician takes an inordinate amount of time and mobility, and that because of family obligations it is difficult for them to participate fully in political life. This does not satisfy women leaders and they feel women's organizations should undertake educative efforts aimed at encouraging women to participate directly in the political process. They feel, too, that there is a kind of tokenism at present in political life which requires the wife of an important official to represent women, and this trend affects the quality of women's participation in political life.

It seems that the political camaraderie between the sexes which characterized the fight for independence between 1945 and 1949, and the early years of the Republic, has been overtaken by male self-interest, and that men have gradually monopolized political leadership positions, shutting women out. In fact, women leaders are concerned because the number of women in important political positions appear to be declining.

### Education and Literacy

Women have made great strides since independence in both literacy rates and in school enrollments, but they are still lagging behind men in both areas.

Literate in Any Character
Population over 10 Years of Age
(1971 Census D)

	Rural	Urban	Rural/Urban			
Male	68%	88%	72%			
Female	46%	70%	50%			
Both Sexes	57%	79%	61%			

Sixty-one percent (61%) of Indonesia's population is literate. Of the men, 72% are literate in any character while only 50% of the women are. In the rural areas, as Table 1 indicates, the literacy rates are 68% for the men and 46% for the women, while in the urban areas, 88% of the men and 70% of the women are literate. Overall, the urban literacy rate is 79% and the rural literacy rate is 57% which, among other things, demonstrates the pattern of services available to rural and urban populations.

In looking at age and sex specific figures in Table 2 , we see that women since 1961 have made greater strides proportionate to men in the age cohorts between 15 and 24, and that the gap in literacy rates between young men and young women is closing in both rural and urban areas.

Table 2

.. Age and Sex Specific Literacy Rates by Place of Residence, Indonesia, 1961 and 1971

Age		Ur	ban		Rural					
	Males		Fer	nales	Mcles		Females			
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971		
10 — 14	89.8	91.7	84.7	88.9	73.5	. 81.4	64.0	76.9		
15 19	92.5	95.5	79.9	90.7	72.9	84.3	54.3	74.5		
20 24	89.0	85.1	54.4	87.1	70.2	83.9	40.1	64.9		
25 — 34	79.2	92.2	47.8	71.1	58.2	74.5	26.9	44.3		
3544	74.5	82.9	37.1	52.6	49.4	59.5	18.2	26.1		
45 54	65_1	78.0	24.2	40.2	38.2	49.8	9.4	15.7		
55 64	57. <b>7</b>	70.7	17.5	28.9	29.0	28.6	6.1	9.0		
65 74	50.6	61.5	12.2	22.4	. 20.6	29.5	5.0	6.9		
75 +	40.7	49.2	9.5	17.9	21.5	25.0	6.0	5.6		
Total	79.9	88.3	53.3	70.0	56.0	68.5	30.6	46.1		

SOURCE: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1961 and 1971 Population Consuses.

As cited in Cey, Table 2, p. 75.

With regard to school enrollments shown in Table 3 , it is apparent that the enrollment of girls in most educational levels has increased at a greater rate than boys. This is true particularly at the elementary, secondary and vocational school levels. What is significant, however, is that the number of girls with no school at all is decreasing at a rate far less than for boys. Between 1961 and 1971, the number of boys with no schooling decreased by almost 32%, but the number of girls with no schooling decreased only by 14%. It is significant also that men's enrollment in academies increased faster than women's and that there is virtually no significant difference in the rate at which female and male university enrollments are increasing.

Table 3

Population 10 years and Over by Sex and Level of Education, Indonesia, 1961 and 1971.

	15	161	19	71	Increase (%)		
Level of Education	Males	Females	Males	Ecmales	Males	Ecmales	
No School	16,786,126	24.695.684	11.478.717	21.037.275	31.6	14.8	
Some Elementary School	7,911,933	4.666.397	14,740.393	12.031.585	86.3	157.8	
Elementary School	5,271,254	2.519.104	9.401.970	6.372.031	78.4	140.5	
General Junior High School	684.236	327.635	1.614.975	974.354	136.0	197.4	
Vocational Junior High School	368,698	149.452	626,373	\$12,903	69.9	109.4	
General Senior High School	171,325	58.635	643,658	269,028	275.7	358.8	
Vocational Senior High School	115,120	45.844	489,515	242.965	552.7	454.2	
Academy	25,180	9,400	111,868	30,453	344.3	234.0	
University	16,499	4,758	99.797	29.270	504.9	515.2	
Total	31,348,371	32,605,192	39,207,262	41.299.814	25.1	26.7	

SOURCE: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1961 and 1971 Population Consules.

As cited in Oey, Table 3, p. 76.

However, in terms of the proportion of school age population actually enrolled in school, it is apparent that rural women have the least opportunity for education, but that rural men are also considerably disadvantaged in comparison to their urban counterparts, particulary in the 14-24 age coherts.

Table 4
School Age Population in School
(1971 Census D)

AGE			14	-19	2	0-24	25+	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Rural	46	42	28	16	7	1	. 4	.1
Urban	59	57	54	38	23	10	2.8	.7
Rural/Urban	48	45	34	21	10	3	.8	.2

In terms of the proportion of males to females in enrollments at various levels, the numbers of women relative to men decrease as they proceed up the educational ladder, with the exception of teacher education, where 59% of the enrollment is female. Starting out at 45% of the total primary school enrollment, women constitute 39% of the Junior Secondary (General) level, 33% of the Senior Secondary (General) level and 29% of the enrollment in higher education. They fare worse in vocational education, constituting 29.6% of Junior Secondary Vocational and 26.3% of Senior 52 Secondary Vocational enrollment.

At the university level, it would appear from figures taken from enrollments at the University of Indonesia, that women form the majority of enrollments in the fields of Psychology, (72.8%), Literature (69.3%) and Dentistry (68.1%), by 1973 figures. It is also interesting to note that 49% of the enrollment in law is female. According to the 1971 D Census, only 16% of the enrollment in agricultural training at any level (Secondary, academy, university) is female. Women distribute themselves among all the faculties at U.I., but they are least likely to go into Public Health, and Technology. Women are distributed primarily among Literature (19%), Medicine (12.5%), Economics (12.4%), Social Sciences (12.2%), and Dentistry (11.2%). (Table 5, following page.)

Table 5

Number of Students enrolled in the University of Indonesia up to 20th April 1973, by Sex and Faculty.

	School/Faculty		Total			Vertical Percentage			Horizontal Percentage		
			Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1.	Technology	669	68	737	18.5	3.3	12.9	90.8	9.2	100.0	
2.	- · · · · · · · · · · · ·	l n	2	13	0.5	0.1	0.2	84.6	15.4	100.0	
3.	Law lextension course)	330	82	432	9.6	4.0	7.6	81.1	18.9	100.0	
4.	Economics	879	255	1.134	24.0	12.4	19.8	77.5	22.5	100.0	
5.	Medicine	.661	257	918	18.1	12.5	16.1	72.1	27.9	100.0	
6.	Science	201	146	347	5.3	7.1	6.1	58.0	42.0	100.0	
7.	Social Science	343	251	594	9.4	12.2	10.4	57.8	42.2	100.0	
8.	Law	192	186	378	5.2	9.0	6.6	51.0	49.0	100.0	
9.	Dentistry	108	230	338	3.0	11.2	5.9	<b>3</b> 1.9	68.1	100.0	
10.	Literature	173	390	565	4.7	19.0	9.9	30.7	69.3	100.0	
11.		71 -	190	261	1.9	9.2	4.6	27.2	72.8	100.0	
	Total	3,658	2.057	5.715	100.0	100.0	100.1	64.1	35.9	100.0	

SOURCE: Registration Bureau, University of Indonesia.

As cited in Rahardjo, Table 3, p. 83.

Today, degree of literacy is considered an index of the socioeconomic development of countries on their route to modernization. For the people of Asian countries, particularly the women of Indonesia, education was 53 always regarded as the key to their own development and progress.

The founder of the Indonesian movement to emancipate women, Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904), had to fight on two fronts: against the prevailing customs imposed on aristocratic young women in her own society, and against the limitations imposed on Indonesian women by the Dutch colonial government. From the viewpoint of her own family, an enlightened yet socially conservative Islamic household, and as the daughter of a <u>Bupati</u>, she had to stay at home,

secluded from society after age twelve. Only poorer Indonesian women enjoyed the equal status guaranteed them by <u>adat</u> because they worked outside the home in agriculture, trade, and handicraft activities to provide income for their households.

Kartini received her education at a Dutch elementary school, open only to the children of Dutch officials and selected aristocrats and Chinese community officers. Up to 1912, the Dutch government did not provide any government schools for ordinary Indonesian girls in predominantly Islamic areas, such as much of Java and the Outer Islands. Education for Indonesian women before that date only was extended to a minority of Indonesian Christian girls living near mission schools in such areas as Ambon, Minahassa (North Sulawesi), or the Batak highlands of Sumatra. A few Christian schools were situated in Indonesian Christian communities in and around large cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya. In addition, schools for girls were started by enlightened women like Kartini who established two in her short lifetime. Another aristocrat, Dewi Sartica, established her first school in Bandung in 1904, and went on to found eight more. Apart from the government schools, the Kartini foundation opened schools for girls after 1916, as did the van Deventer Foundation and women's organizations, after the All Women's Congress was established in 5*6* 1928. A few Dutch women held schools in their homes. Co-educational schools were established by Taman Siswa which emphasized sexual equality. At this time, progessive Islamic households began to permit girls to

attend Koranic classes and learn Arabic, and even to attend religious schools, sexually segregated <u>pesantran</u> and <u>madrasa</u>. The first Islamic modernist vocational school for girls was founded by an enlightened Minangkabau aristocrat, Dt. St. Mahardja in 1909. Subsequently schools were founded by Minangkabau women such as Sitti Rohana, who also established the first feminist magazine in Sumatra in 1912, and Rahma El Jausia who founded the first modernist religious school for girls in 1922. Islamic organizations, along with Christian missionary groups, also established teachers' training schools during this period.

The curriculum of these early schools for girls, state and private, was partly devoted to academic subjects, and partly to domestic science skills. The first purely vocational school for girls was founded in 58 Tomohon in the Minahasa area in 1901. The government established several subsequently, on both the primary and secondary levels.

Education for all Indonesians, male as well as female, was severely limited during the colonial period since only roughly 7% of the Indonesian 59 population was literate at the time of independence. Out of that percentage, only approximately 14% to 25% were girls, depending on whether they lived in predominantly Islamic or Christian areas. Only a very small number of young women went on for higher education becoming, for the most part, 60 the first women teachers and school principals. Women also were trained as midwives during the colonial period, and there were two women medical doctors before independence; both came from Minahasa. Several Indonesian women, perhaps following on a similar tradition for women in Holland, specialized in law. Law, along with medicine and teacher training were fields which had higher educational facilities in Indonesia. The engineering

college in Bandung did not enroll women students. The few Indonesian families who could afford it, were loath to permit girls to travel abroad for their higher education during the colonial period.

After independence was achieved in 1945, a constitution was drafted which guaranteed equal opportunities to men and women in all spheres of life, including education (article 31, section 1). The system as developed goes from primary school (6 years) through junior high (3 years), senior high (3 years), to university (4 years). According to the Education Law, the entry age for primary school is 6 years, but most children enter at 7 years of age. The system can start with pre-school education for fortunate children in one of the over 9,000 kindergartens sponsored, for the most part, by women's organizations and religious groups. The government only operates 19 kindergartens, but offers curriculum guidance to the rest. Some kindergartens are adjuncts to private primary schools. Nearly half (43%) of kindergartens are in Central Java. The largest number are sponsored by Aisyiah, the Muslim women's organization.

Girls are not supposed to have separate educational facilities.
62
All schools, including the madrasas are co-educational and graded.

Generally, sexual segregation continues as a result of vocational specializations such as domestic science or midwifery, or as a result of traditional attitudes in remote areas, in private schools sponsored by Muslims and Christians. Examples of such schools are the Islamic (boarding schools) and the convents sponsored by the Catholic church, or their Akademi Kewanitaan (Institute for Womanhood), a kind of one year finishing school for upper class young women in Yogyakarta. The Ministry of Education only

supervises state schools, and private subsidized and non-subsidized schools. It has no control over the Moslem primary schools (Madrasa Ibtidayah) which are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Out of 78,412 primary schools, 13,922 (18%) were madrasa. While estimates vary from 42% to 45% female enrollment in public and private primary schools, there is no information available about the proportion of girls in madrasas.

Social, economic, and educational strictures have tended to prevent girls from taking as full advantage of co-educational opportunities as boys, particularly in regard to secondary school and higher education. Statistics indicate that the percentage of girls attending school has increased over the years but still drops off once girls have reached puberty, except for Sulawesi Utara (Minahasa) where enrollments remain relatively high up through senior high school. This phenomenon is due partially to social attitudes about girls but also to economic necessity in many households. Girls are needed for child care of younger siblings, to prepare meals, particularly when the mother is heavily involved in Starting as young as age 7, girls take part in marketing activities. agricultural tasks such as tending animals and fetching water, and by age 10 are planting and harvesting rice. Girls also help their mother in urban income earning activities such as preparing foods for sale, or in dressmaking. The influence of the above factors is reflected in higher absenteeism and drop-out rates for girls than boys. This can be

seen in the declining percentages of females among students in grades 1 to 6 in primary school where girls are 42% of the enrollment in 1st  $_{68}$  grade and 38% in the 6th grade.

Furthermore, schooling is not free, although school fees are relatively low, 50 <u>rupiahs</u> (a little over U.S. 12¢) per child. However, a poor family with several children and an annual income of from \$30 to \$80 a year, finds it an extreme hardship to pay such fees. In addition, there are the costs of a school entry fee and school supplies, as well. There are reports that parents often keep children home from school for 69 lack of proper clothing. Therefore, if any children can go to school, it generally will be boys since, it is reasoned, they have to support their families, while the girls will be cared for by their husbands.

Another factor limiting girls' schooling is the lack of adequate boarding facilities in certain parts of the country. The women's organizations have established some hostels for school girls, but not enough in relation to need. Primary schools, while generally within villages in 71 Java, can be five or six miles away from a village in the Outer Islands. Secondary schools, generally, are only available in smaller towns and in cities, and can be as much as 25 miles away from a girl's home. Rural girls either have to commute a considerable distance or board in town. For the most part, it is only better-off families which have the money and network of urban relatives to house girls who send their daughter for a higher education. The exception to these limitations are the Protestant and Catholic rural areas, particularly in the Outer Islands, where secondary as well as primary educational opportunities for girls are more accessible.

In addition to the social, economic, and educational limitations which affect girls' attendance at secondary schools, two studies indicate tentatively that unemployment is greater for girls with an education at this level than at either primary or university levels. Whether the girls are unemployed because they intend to go on for a higher education 72 eventually, is not clear. However, if the secondary education is regarded as a terminal education by many girls' families, the fact that its earning power is not assured, may tend to lower enrollments in the long run.

Opportunities for higher education outside of Indonesia were offered to Indonesians by external funding organizations directly after the transfer of sovereignty in 1949. The first opportunities were given to men, as they would have been in the countries sponsoring the assistance program. Also, since men had had more higher educational opportunities than women during the colonial period, they had the qualifications, particularly in technical and scientific fields, for post-graduate work. In the field of agriculture, in one of the first of such programs, no women received an opportunity to study abroad. The same policy prevailed to a certain extent, for one of the first assistance programs to improve medical care. Only one woman pharmacist out of twenty-four was selected for study abroad. Many male doctors were able to receive their training abroad in the 1950's; three women doctors were selected to receive post-graduate training abroad, but for some reason were not allowed to leave at that time. has been that in these two fields, as well as in others, where the same situation prevailed initially, men now dominate as heads of departments, since they had the first opportunities to receive a prestigious post-graduate education abroad.

Today, external funding organizations are offering more opportunities to Indonesian women to study abroad for higher degrees, and to take refresher, upgrading, and enrichment tours. The situation has changed to such an extent that families do not object to the travel outside the country of either single or married women. In fact, today, women with a higher degree from abroad are considered to have raised the social 75 status of their families. A further opportunity for training abroad which Indonesian women have taken advantage of is in nursing. European countries with a shortage of labor, such as Germany, have offered Indonesian women training in exchange for work in German hospitals.

In the field of teaching, all kindergarten teachers are female. Women make up from 28% to 33% of the teachers in primary school. proportion of female teachers is lower in the madrasas. Women constitute around 34% of the teaching personnel in the aggregate of primary and secondary schools. Most female primary school teachers are in the urban schools; male teachers are for the most part in the villages, although there are some women instructors. The value of a career in teaching is diminished by the low salary levels at present. In large cities like Jakarta, with foreign enterprises, a teacher who can speak English can earn more as a secretary, or even as a domestic servant in an expatriate household, than in teaching. Whether it is for this reason, or as a result of the increasing number of vocational and technical courses offered women, more male teachers are hired than female teachers, and the percentage of female teachers has declined, even in the primary schools. There is female unemployment at the higher educational levels as well which in part must

reflect the lack of teaching opportunities for women at universities and academies. In fact, it seems unemployment rates are higher for women 78 as they acquire more education. It is not known how many university instructors are female. There are distinguished women professors in the faculties of law and medicine, and the social sciences. At this writing the dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia, is a woman, as is the head of the Institute of Biology at Bogor. Other women scholars occupy important positions at other universities 79 throughout the country, but nowhere in very large numbers.

In the informal educational sector, the concentration has been on courses, and radio and television programs, to abolish illiteracy. Women's organizations have made a special effort to abolish illiteracy among women. In the early 1960's, it was thought that as a result of campaign of mass activism, illiteracy had largely been abolished. It is now realized this had been largely a <u>pro forma</u> operation, undercut by the lack of continuing course work and relevant graded reading materials.

# Health and Family Planning

The most prevalent and unique illnesses among women, as compared to illnesses suffered by the entire population, were feminine anemia and maternal mortality. In 1956, maternal mortality was the sixth leading cause of death for the entire population; by 1968 it had declined to the ninth rank. The estimated maternal mortality rate in Indonesia is about 80-100 deaths per 10,000 live births, which is about ten times the rate for such deaths in developed countries. The rate varies throughout the country in relation to hospital accessibility. The overall maternal 81 mortality rate in Yogyakarta for 1970-75 was 206.3/10,000; in Medan it was 120/10,000 for the 1965-74 period. In Yogyakarta, it is estimated that the maternal mortality rate for patients not registered in a hospital is nine times as great as for registered patients.

The high maternal mortality rates are due to a combination of factors: early age of marriage (in some traditional households, in villages 84 and small towns, directly after first menstruation), malnutrition, chronic endemic diseases, ignorance, poor environmental sanitation, and lack of access to skilled medical personnel and facilities for sustained prenatal care, as well as for delivery. For example, even in the 1970's, 96.2% of births in West Java were assisted by dukuns, and only 3.3% by 85 professional midwives.

Indonesian women who are fortunate utilize the whole range of modern Indonesian health facilities, sponsored by the Department of Health, voluntary agencies, the armed services, large-scale private enterprises,

women's organizations, and private doctors. There are general and specialized hospitals, community health centers (Puskesmas), polyclinics, and dispensaries. Unfortunately, access to these facilities is unequal. Health clinics are found in only 60% to 70% of the sub-districts (<a href="ketjamatan">ketjamatan</a>) of Java, and in the Outer Islands their distribution is even more sparse. The most, and the best, medical facilities are concentrated in urban areas. If women live in an urban area, and are not poor, or intimidated by modernity, they may seek the services of a gynacologist. Middle and upper class urban women usually give birth in a maternity hospital (<a href="rumah sakit bersalin">rumah sakit bersalin</a>) where mid-wives, trained in modern medical techniques and hygiene (<a href="bidans">bidans</a>), assist in making the delivery. For any complications, they would be moved to a general hospital where doctors are in attendance.

Poor urban and rural women generally are assisted in giving birth by a <u>dukun</u>, or more specifically, <u>dukun bayi</u> (healer-mid-wife), with an extensive knowledge of herbal remedies. A <u>dukun</u> is generally, but not always, an older married woman; there are male <u>dukuns</u> who deliver babies in Bali, for example. Since the 1950's, the <u>dukuns</u> have been offered training in modern hygienic methods and medical procedures to improve the quality of their assistance. However, a 1973 survey in Central Java found that many <u>dukuns</u> had reverted to traditional ways, again, using a bamboo knife to cut the umbilical cord, and treating the baby with their own <u>jamu</u> (herbal remedy). Overall, <u>dukuns</u> made 95% of the deliveries for mothers without education; 40% of the deliveries for those with an elementary education, and 10% for those with a secondary education. It

is estimated 95% to 100% of the births in rural areas are attended by 88 dukuns. In Java and Bali, dukuns deliver 80% of all births, including 89 50% of the births in urban areas. Many Indonesians trust dukuns more than modern medical professionals since they are skilled in massage, and it is believed that almost all illnesses are related to poor circulation.

Bidans (professional midwives) staff the Maternity and Child Health Centers (Balai Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak, BKIA). There were 5,698 of these centers distributed throughout the country, staffed by a bidan and two assistants. The centers, usually located in cities and small towns, receive additional aid and supplies from WHO and UNICEF. courses in modern methods to dukuns, and utilize them as assistants after training. These centers, as well as the Rural Health Centers, "Under 5" Clinics, and Mother and Child Clinics, funded by voluntary agencies, have made it possible for more pregnant women to receive pre-natal and post-natal professional assistance. However, they reach a comparatively small number of women. As Cora Vreede-de Stuers remarked in 1960: "If before the war 90 to 95% of the pregnant women were given no professional assistance, the figure today would be 80%." A further disability for rural women is the tendency for doctors to concentrate themselves in the largest urban areas, in spite of government bonding agreements which require a period of rural service in return for a doctor's medical education. It is estimated that 80% of Indonesia's population does not have access to modern medical facilities. Recently, a program was started by the Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera (Foundation for a Prosperous Indonesia, YIS) to improve health care in the rural areas through training cadres (Indonesian-style "barefoot doctors"). So far, the program is limited to Jakarta.

Detrimental food beliefs contribute to the malnutrition of the mothers, and to high rates of infant mortality, computed as high as 143 per 1,000 92 births for the whole of Indonesia; a decline since 1961. Food beliefs prohibit nursing mothers from eating fish and meat, and from feeding the same foods to infants and young children, because it is believed animal 93 protein foods cause worms and eye disease.

While impoverished men also suffer from the effects of malnutrition, women and older children in some households are more disadvantaged nutritionally because they only eat whatever is left after the husband 94. In some households, children under five and women are "non-privileged members of the family" and do not obtain 95 proportional shares of the food available, eventhough it is the mother 96 who decides on the kind of food to be served to the family.

Therefore, poor women generally eat much less than the average food 97 intake of 1,718 calories and 39.7 grams of protein. However, women's nutritional needs are intensified during pregnancy and lactation. As a result, women as well as children are vulnerable and suffer to a greater extent than men from the prevailing Indonesian nutritional problems: protein and calorie malnutrition, vitamin A, C, B group, iron, and calcium deficiency, nutritional anemia, and endemic goiter/cretinism, due to iodine deficiency. In fact, studies have shown that as high as 80% of the pregnant and nursing women in rural Java and 46% in Bali have anemia.

Currently, there are attempts at improving the nutrition of families
living below the poverty line through programs which encourage growing
nutritious foods. Critics of this program point out how unrealistic it
is since households below the poverty line own little (less than 0.5 hectares)

or no land, and they depend for more than half of their income on off-farm 98 labor. Households which own enough land for a home garden, which is invariably tended by women, usually sell off the largest part of the yield 99 for cash to provide for household necessities. A program of systematic food supplementation is thought to be the only short-term solution.

A relatively new program aimed at improving Indonesian women's health ` and opportunities is family planning. The program started in the early 1950's with discussions by prominant socially conscious women, physicians, and voluntary organizations concerned with women's welfare. They wanted the counselling that elite women could obtain from their physicians made available in clinics to a wider group of women. The Council of Churches inaugurated a modest program in their medical facilities, as well, calling it "Responsible Parenthood." In 1957, the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association, I.P.P.A. (Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, P.K.B.I.). established itself on a limited basis, in spite of official hostility. It was assisted in an unpublicized manner by the Pathfinder Fund, the Population Council and the International Planned Parenthood Federation. As one of its first efforts, the IPPA began Projek Balai Keluarga Berencana (Project of the Institute of Family Planning) in an effort to widen its appeal through tailoring programs to Indonesian family concerns. Therefore, it offered marriage counselling and therapy for sterility (infertility), as well as family planning advice, and on a small scale trained physicians, midwives, and other medical workers in program objectives. With the change in leadership after September 1965, a new atmosphere prevailed. In 1967,

Indonesia was a signatory to the "Declaration on Population", which declared that family planning was a basic human right. Subsequently, in 1968, there was a dramatic shift in national priorities. Family planning was viewed as an aspect of national development planning and was declared official policy, to the extent that population limitation became objectives in two national development plans. In 1970, a National Coordinating Family Planning Board, NFPCB (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, BKKBN) was created. As a result, governmental efforts have been greatly intensified. Family planning clinics were instituted by the Department of Health, attached to the Maternity and Child Health Center (B.K.I.A.) in Java and Bali initially, for the first Five Year Plan (1969-1973). During this period, the IPPA staffed clinics in the Outer Islands. For the Second Five Year Plan additional government-sponsored clinics have been installed in priority areas of Aceh, North, West, and South Sumatra, Lampung, West and South Kalimantan, North and South Sulawesi, and West Nusatenggara. In addition, voluntary agencies, the armed forces, the Council of Churches, the Muhamadiyah/Aisyah (Islamic modernist men and women's associations), and Indonesian women's organizations sponsor additional family planning clinics, educational courses and lectures. While the improvement of the health of the mother and child has been emphasized from the beginning, the program's ultimate focus is on limitation of population growth as a means to improve the national economy and raise the standard of living. It was hoped that the program would lower the rate of population growth by 0.8% in the period roughly from 1971 to 1975.

The program has had challenging educative and motivational problems. While there have always been traditional methods of child spacing and limiting births - massage, jamus (herbal potions), and abstinence, they generally were not utilized comprehensively and consistently. Children are highly valued in Indonesian society on every socio-economic level and ' in every ethnic group. In the traditional view, a large family is a reflection of a good fortune, as well as a potential source of productive labor, and In Peranakan society, an unmarried woman (or man) is old age security. considered an incomplete human being. In Indonesian society, wives only achieve status after they have given birth to a child. If they fail to have a child, the fault is considered to be theirs alone. If they have only one child, they are pressured to have more to produce a well-rounded family of at least four children, generally. Husbands are considered justified in taking another wife if their wife fails to produce children, or only produce children of one sex; for example, only girls in a patrilineal or bilateral structured family, or only boys in a matrilineal family. This situation would be regarded as cause to take another wife in patrilineal, bilateral, and orthodox Islamic families, out of concern for the continuance For example, a Batak blessing is: "May you bear of the family line. 17 sons and 16 daughters." With such prevailing attitudes the program has concentrated much of its efforts on education of the most traditionallyminded, the rural, illiterate, and semi-literate population. So far, in Java and Bali, the largest number of acceptors have been from these target groups, in the ages between 20 and 39. The program has been most successful

in East Java and Bali. The contraceptives utilized in order of popularity 110 are oral contraceptives, the IUD, condoms, and foam tablets.

In the past, women who were motivated had to bear the costs of family planning in time and money. While men in certain areas such as Yogyakarta could receive supplies through condom mailing projects, rural women often had to travel a relatively long distance to have the IUD inserted, taking time from work, walking, or paying the costs of transport, as well as for any other medication needed. If the oral contraceptives were chosen, the time and money costs had to be borne every month or every three lill months.

The newest approach in family planning is to get away from clinics. Village Contraceptive Distribution Centers and <u>dukuns</u> now distribute consumable supplies, forwarded by the BKKBN through field workers and mobile units, directly to the villages. This approach tries to integrate family planning services with other village development projects.

Initially, the program has appealed more to those in their late 20's 112 who already have two to three children than to the newly married. However, since the government program has been accelerated, according to the BKKBN, the average age of acceptors dropped from 29 to 27.9 years. There has been an increase in acceptors in Java and Bali each year from less than 1% to 10% 113 of women in the ages from 15 to 44. Cumulatively, this means 34% of the women, aged 15 to 44 in Java and Bali, up to March 1975. While there has been some skepticism expressed about these claims, they have proven to be fairly accurate, or at least within an acceptable range of statistical 114 variation. However, it is pointed out that acceptance is not enough,

whether out of conviction, politeness, or as a result of subtle coercive techniques or rewards. The rate of continuance will be the only meaningful statistic. Furthermore, women who are acceptors, when surveyed, are reported to still want to have around four children, which is well above the family size needed to replace the existing population. However, the BKKBN claims the number of living children per acceptor dropped from 116 4 to 2.8 in 1974. There are reports of inhibiting folk beliefs in regard to the continuing use of contraceptives, i.e. will cause loss of hair, etc., and of boxes of supplies left lying untouched on shelves. Therefore, it still is uncertain whether it will be possible to sustain a reduction of population growth at the rate hoped for, although the program is making remarkable progress.

In any event, the possibility of being able to decide to delay the first birth, and to space subsequent births over a longer period, at will, is an option open to an increasing number of motivated Indonesian couples. This will benefit women's health in the long run, and provide them with more time for participation in activities outside the realm of household concerns.

Unfortunately, taxation policy tends still to be pro-natalist and undermines the objectives of the family planning program. The income tax law of 1944 allowed the taxpayer exemptions for each member of his family, each legal wife, and every relation in a straight line, including 117 adopted children, to a maximum of 12 persons. The new income tax law of 1974-75 gives exemptions to the taxpayer for every legal wife and up 118 to a maximum of five children. Furthermore, civil servants get a dependent allowance, amounting to 2% of basic salary and fringe benefits, 119 for each child.

Indonesia's labor legislation, which is much in advance of its time, inadvertently has a pro-natalist effect, as well. The stipulation allowing three months off for pregnancies in Indonesia for each birth contrasts with anti-natalist policies in other countries where maternity leaves are denied 120 mothers after the third or fourth child. Finally, there are still stipulations of the Penal Code which provide fines and imprisonment for 121 disseminating contraceptives and performing abortions.

### Networks of Communication Among Women

Indonesia has difficult communication problems because it is made up of over 3,000 islands, and its communication infrastructure has been inadequate up until fairly recently. However, Indonesian women do receive information in several organized and informal ways which can be complimentary 122 On an informal level, the tradition of visiting in to each other. urban areas, and of mutual assistance (gotong royong) which continues in many rural areas, means that if one member of an informal group has useful information she generally will share it. Women are together more often than alone in such activities as planting and harvesting, transporting goods to market, trading, preparing decorations and food for religious ceremonies, in attending religious meetings and ceremonial occasions, and in attending arisans (savings societies), and meetings of women's organizations. Therefore much news travels along such friendship and work networks.

As for the organized side, the Indonesian government's commitment to development encourages every citizen to participate in programs aimed at improving the standard of living in their own areas, as well as for the nation at large. Information about specific programs reaches women, as well as men, through radio, public declarations, mail, and television. The administrative hierarchy, women's organizations, functional groups, political parties, and religious organizations also have internal networks along which information travels to women. The administrative structure, headed by the governor of each province, and descending through officials who head regencies, districts, and sub-districts, down to urban kampongs or to villages, is one communication channel. Today this network is extended through the custom of encouraging the wives of administrative officials to transmit information specifically to the women of the areas administered by their husband, in order to encourage participation in government programs. At the lowest level of the hierarchy, the urban kampung, or the village (desa), not only the lurah (the village leader), but the wife of the lurah (if the lurah is not a woman) transmits information to women. However, knowledgeable observers believe that the social hierarchy in a village tends to set the lurah's wife and her social peers apart from the poorest segments of the village, which inhibits the flow of information to those most in need of assistance.

There are other village institutions which also transmit information; primarily, the <u>rukun kampung</u> and <u>rukun tetangga</u> (RT), respectively the kampung and neighborhood units of social organization. The RT's are made

up of from 10 to 20 families, and about half of them, particularly in urban areas, are headed by women. The RT's transmit official information to every household, channel householders' concerns to the <a href="lurah">lurah</a>, and organize cooperatives, celebrations, and useful lectures. They are most vital in the rural areas. There are also village institutions which encourage community involvement in the development programs of various ministries at the local level: the <a href="Lembaga Sosial Desa">Lembaga Sosial Desa</a> (LSD, Village Social Institute). They act as another information channel.

In both urban and rural areas, a conscious effort is made to transmit information to women by interested agencies, particularly the family planning programs, at times when women informally organize themselves into arisans. In addition, women's auxiliaries of political parties, the armed services, functional groups, and religious organizations channel useful information to the local level and maintain programs specifically beneficial to women, rural as well as urban, as a means to establish patron-client relations which assure partisan support. Christian women meet at church; Muslim women also meet with each other at the mosque. Women even have their own mosques in Central Java.

#### Women's Organizations

Indonesian urban women are highly organized, and a great deal of information is exchanged at meetings, and travels along organizational channels. There are 42 women's organizations which fall into the following categories: feminist organizations for adults and for young women, women's

religious organizations, organizations based on the women's work or profession, organizations made up of the wives of civil servants of various government ministries, wives of armed service personnel, women's auxiliaries of political parties, and women's organizations based on geographical area of origin. (See appendix for complete listing.) All of these groups are active in sponsoring programs, schools, and lectures, which are beneficial to women and children specifically, and to society at large.

There is official recognition of the tremendous contributions women's organizations have made to the fields of health, education, and social welfare, and in specific instances their advice is sought by government, and professional personnel from government ministries are seconded to classes, schools, and community development programs sponsored by women's organizations. Through this interaction, the communication of concepts and standards on the one side, and of needs on the other, is facilitated, to a degree.

The oldest women's organizations are the women's religious organizations, such as the Aisyiah, and Protestant and Roman Catholic women's organizations, and the feminist organizations such as Perwari. Their history goes back to the first decades of this century when feminine emancipation and participation were encouraged by youth groups which supported the nationalist movement. Today, all women's organizations are joined together in the <a href="KOWANI">KOWANI</a> (Kongres Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Congress), established in 1928, which holds congresses every few years and maintains charitable foundations, sponsors lectures, scholarships, a woman's hostel, and a store selling women's handicraft. It funds the Jajasan Hari Ibu (Mother's Day Foundation)

which collaborates with the Village Social Institutes in offering home economics courses to the women of certain villages. In addition, the functional women's groups are coordinated by GOLKAR (Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya, Coordinating Secretariat of the Functional Groups) and by Koordinasi Wanita Golkar Pusat (Coordinating Board of Women of the Functional Groups), established in 1966. Furthermore, many of the services sponsored by the women's movement are organized separately, such as the Federation of Kindergarten Organizers (GOP.T.K.I., Gabungan Organisasi Penyelenggara Taman Kanak-Kanak Indonesia). All the women's organizations throughout the archipelago are coordinated by the BKOW (Badan Koordinasi Organisasi Wanita, Regional Coordinating Board of Women's Organizations) which operates on the provincial and kabupaten (regency) levels. The BKOW provides information, sponsors family life courses of its own, and conducts classes and ceremonies commemorating women's achievements, and national independence. In Jakarta, where all the women's organizations have their headquarters, the coordinating board is called Badan Penhubung Organisasi Wanita, BPOW, and in addition to the usual activities of such boards, it sponsors a foundation, Kegiatan Wanita (Women's Activities) which conducts commercial, beauty, home economics, language, and cultural courses for women.

In 1968, KOWANI and GOLKAR collaborated in founding the National Commission on the Status of Women (Komisi Nasional Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia, K.N.K.W.I.). Its membership is composed of 23 members, representing women's organizations, and seven members representing the government. It collects data on discrimination against women, and on

women's problems, publishes reports, and submits recommendations to the government, and to the United Nations.

Today, it is felt by responsible women leaders that there is not enough meaningful communication between feminist organizations who are now in the minority, and the seventeen organizations of wives of civil servants and wives of armed forces personnel who are in the majority, and who are, in effect, appendages of their husband's profession. Each of these women's organizations is loyal to their own group. There is concern that when an issue arises that will affect all women, they will need more sustained communication and more unity of purpose than exists at present.

# FOOTNOTES Chapter 1

- 1 Indonesia, <u>Country Report</u>, 1975, p. 29. This section also relies on all the publications of Nani Soewondo (see bibliography), Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, chapter 1; H. Geertz, 1961, chapter 2; ter Haar, chapter IX; Kartini, <u>Letters</u>, <u>passim</u>; Taufik Abdullah, 1972, especially the discussion around p. 211; unless otherwise cited for emphasis.
  - 2 ter Haar, p. 194.
  - 3 Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 65; Jane Bush Aden, p. 9.
  - 4 Singarimbun and Manning, 1974 b, pp. 68,70; Status of Women and Family Planning, app. 7, pp. 12-13.
  - 5 Singarimbun and Manning, 1974 b, p.77.
  - 6 ter Haar, pp. 193-194.
  - 7 Vreede-de Stuers, "Indonesia", 1967, p. 380.
  - 8 Soewondo and Djoewari, p. 9; Legal Aspects, IPPA, 1972, p. 18.
  - 9 Vreede-de Stuers, 1967, p. 381.
- 10 Singarimbun and Manning, 1974b, p. 70.
- 11 Vreede-de Stuers, 1967, pp. 380-381.
- 12 Singarimbun and Manning, 1974b, pp. 69-70, 74, 79, 81.
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### Chapter 2. ECONOMIC PROFILE

This section addresses itself to the economic role and labor force behavior of Indonesian women. Before we proceed to discuss the data available it is important to reiterate the fact that in Indonesia women are traditionally the financial managers of most households, and are, in the main, expected to contribute to family finances either in cash or in kind. This expectation is particularly strong among poor families where women must contribute to the economics of the household in the same manner as every able bodied member of the household.

In what follows we describe what women do to meet their economic responsibilities, examining their work participation patterns as reflected by the 1971 Census data and going beyond these data to discuss the historical and cultural aspects of women's economic participation. Indonesia is, however, undergoing a rapid economic change. What is presented here is a description of what economic life has been and still continues to be for many women, without taking into account the effects of recent processes of change. A subsequent chapter (Chapter 4) attempts to capture the dynamics of change and describes in more detail the effects of modernization and development upon the role of women. Though not based on systematic data, Chapter 4 incorporates both current and localized research and observations of social scientists in the field on the subject matter in contrast to the material in this section which is based on census and survey data.

## Women's Work Participation

According to the 1971 Census almost 50% of all Indonesians 10 years and older were economically active. This represents a slight decrease from 1961 when 54% of the population were economically active. The degree to which this drop is due to changes in age structure is not known. In 1971, 32% of women 10 years of age and over were classified as economically active compared to 64% of all men. Women comprised approximately 33% of the total economically active population. Rural women have a substantially higher activity rate than urban women - 35% to 23%.

TABLE 6

Age and Sex Specific Labor Force Participation Rates,\* Indonesia, 1961 and 1971.

Age	Males			. Females		
		1971			1971	
	1961	Unadjusted	Adjusted **	1961	Unadjusted	Adjusted **
10 14	22.63	18.20	- 22.90	15.60	13.75	18.59
15 19	66.67	52.83	57.31	30.59	30.77	34.76
20 24	87.16	79.17	81.86	27.40	33.43	35.08
25 34	94.41	92.84	94.05	27.24	36.99	57.80
3544	96.79	94.51	95.44	33.26	42.80	43.66
45 54	95.62	91.63	92.60	39.77	44.01	45.62
55 64	89.58	82.16	84.20	39.12	57.17	57.17
65 74	78.01	67.55	67.55	31.47	27.09	27.09
75+ -	61.73	47.15	47.13	20. <b>30</b>	15.46	15. <b>46</b>
Total	79.78	70.33	72.57	29.35	55.14	\$5.14

SOURCE: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1961 and 1971 Population Consules.

Labour force participation rates are calculated by dividing the number of persons in the labor force by the population, multiplied by 100

<sup>\*\*</sup> Adjustments for age groups between 10-44 were calculated by adding 1/3 of the category "others" to the labor force, divided by the population, multiplied by 100. For the age groups between 45-64 the same procedure was applied but only 1/4 of the category "others" is added to the labor force.

(As cited in Oey, Table 6, p. 78)

Although in the 1961-1971 intercensal period the overall economic activity rate dropped slightly, Table 6 reveals that women's activity rates increased for every age group, men's activity rates by contrast decreased in every age group. The greatest age-specific increase occurred among women ranging in the 25 to 34 and 35 to 44 age groups. However this increase may in part be due to changes in labor force definitions and time reference concepts between the 1961 and 1971 Censuses.

In 1961 only the category of "employed women" was used as part of the economically active group and this included women working on their own account, employees, wage earners, and unpaid family workers. In 1971 the "economically active" definition included piece work, in kind compensation, and people who had worked at least two days during the week preceding enumeration.

One of the most striking changes taking place in Indonesia is the rapidly diminishing percentage of the population engaged in agricultural-type activities. According to the 1961 Census, 72% of the economically active population worked in the agricultural sector. In 1971 the corresponding figure was 64%, and in a subsequent study 3 conducted in 1973/74 the figure dropped to 60%. The following discussion is based on the data presented in the 1971 Series D Census since this provides the most complete nationwide comparative figures.

In Table 7, the economically active population is broken down by industrial sector, sex, and residence; the data also show what proportion

Sex Distribution of Economically Active Population by Industrial Sector and Proportion Who Are Female in Each Sector by Residence  $\star$ 

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR		% of total female work force	% of total male work force	% of total work force which is female
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry, and Fishing	Rural Urban Total		75 11 65	32 24 32
Trade,	Rural	11	6	48
Restaurants,	Urban	30	21	35
and Hotels	Total	14	9	44
Manufacturing	Rural	8	5	46
	Urban	11	10	30
	Total	9	6	43
Community, Social, and Personal Services	Rural	5	7	25
	Urban	34	31	30
	Total	8	11	27
Activities	Rural	6	3	57
Not Adequately	Urban	14	6	47
Defined	Total	7	3	54
Total	Rural	100	96	34
	Urban	98	79	29
	Total	100	94	33

Note: Remaining Industrial Sectors are: 1) Transport, Storage and Communication; 2) Mining and Quarrying; 3) Construction; 4) Financing, Insurance, Real Estate; and Business Services; 5) Electricity, Gas and Water. Together, they accommodate only .33% of the female work force and 6.5% of the male work force.

<sup>\*</sup> Computations based on 1971 Census, D, Tb. 43.

of the total work force in each sector is female. Among all women who were economically active, 62% were working in the agricultural sector. Women workers represent 32% of the total agricultural work force, a ratio which is equivalent to women's overall representation in the total economy. The remaining 38% of the economically active female labor force are found in the manufacturing industries and in Service categories, such as "trade, restaurants, and hotels," "community, social, and personal services," and in the general class entitled "activities not adequately defined." Among the rural population, as might be expected, 70% of the economically active women and 75% among the men are found in the agricultural sector. Table 7 also reveals the expected differences in the work patterns as affected by residence with urban women more frequently finding opportunities in the "Service" sectors such as in "community, social, and personal services" and in "trade, restaurants, and hotels" than their rural counterparts.

In Indonesia's total economically active population, 40% of the women workers and 18% of the male workers are classified as "unpaid family workers." If we separate the agricultural from the nonagricultural work force by sex and employment status, interesting information is revealed. Table 8 shows that 68% of the agricultural work force is male; 32% is female. However, among that 32% which is female, more than half are classified as "unpaid family workers," in contrast to men, among whom only one-fourth are so classified. In the nonagricultural sector,

7 TABLE 8

Sex Distribution of Economically Active Population
In Agricultural and Non- Agricultural Sectors Who Are
Unpaid Family Workers in Each Sector \*

· <del></del>	unpaid ramily worke	rs in Each Sector *	
0	•	% of	% which is
Sector	Sex	work force	Unpaid Family Worker
Agricultural	Male	68	24
	Female	32	52
Non- Agricultural	Male	65	7
	Female	35	20
Total Work Force	Male	67	18
	Female	33	40

<sup>\*</sup> Computations based on 1971 Census, D, Tb. 47.

65% of the work force is male; 35% is female. Among the 35% who are female, 20% are "unpaid family workers," while among male workers only 7% are unpaid. Presumably many of the women who are unpaid family workers in the agricultural sector are involved in family type agricultural enterprises working on small plots of land and trading goods in the market. However, Indonesia plans to industrialize at an increasingly rapid rate so that early in the 21st Century Java will become an urban-industrial island. What will happen to these unpaid family workers who are now helping their family eke out a living? They will need to find alternative employment, a subject which should be of great concern to planners in Indonesia, with significant implications for education, training, transportation, and other public services.

Although there are officially nine categories in the industrial classification of the Indonesian Census, women in the nonagricultural work force are virtually all concentrated in only four of those categories; and one of these includes "activities not adequately defined." Table 9 shows that 36% of the nonagricultural female work force is involved in "trade," 22% in "manufacturing," 22% in "community, social, and personal services," while 20% are found in the category "activities not adequately defined." In terms of the proportion of the work force which is female in those industrial categories, women are proportionately overrepresented in "trade," "manufacturing," and "activities not adequately defined," in relation to their ratio in the total work force (35%), but underrepresented in "community, social, and personal services." While on the surface it may seem promising that so many Indonesian women are in "trade, restaurants, and hotels" and in "manufacturing," it should be pointed out that these categories include individuals who have a few eggs or other produce to sell in the market as well as women who operate sidewalk food dispensaries. In the "manufacturing" category, handicrafts work is probably the most unproductive activity, in terms of cash returns, that any individual can undertake in Indonesia, as will be discussed elsewhere in this chapter. The large percentage of economically active women found in the category "activities not adequately defined" is quite significant, particularly compared with the figure for men which is only 9%. This category would include women who are involved in various, and usually marginal, types of enterprises that cannot be subsumed under any one rubric. It probably includes those women, also, who are engaged in

TABLE 9
Distribution of the Non-Agricultural Work Force by Sex and

Proportion Who Are Female in Selected Industrial Categories % of male % of female % of work work force work force Selected force which is female Categories in category in category Trade, 44 25 36 Restaurants, Hotels 22 43 Manufacturing 16 Community, 27 22 Social, Personal 31 Services Activities 20 54 9 Not Adequately Defined All Others in Non-Agricultural 19 Activities 100 100 35 Total

<sup>\*</sup> Calculations based on 1971 Census, D, Tb. 47.

questionable or socially unacceptable activities, such as prostitution.

In looking at the occupations realistically available to women (Table 10), we see that in the area of professional and technical employment, women comprise 32% of the people employed in this category, which is roughly equivalent to their ratio in the total non-agricultural work force (35%). However, only a small fraction of the total work force find opportunities in this occupational category. Women's greatest work opportunities come in the area of sales where 35% of all the women who are classified by occupation earn their livelihood, and in "production and transportation" occupations where 24% are employed. The occupational statistics confirm Indonesian women's strong participation in "trade, restaurants, and hotels" and "manufacturing" apparent earlier in the industrial classification (Table 9). What is particularly interesting in Table 10 is that women are drastically underrepresented in administrative and managerial positions. Women comprise a third of the active labor force in Indonesia, yet they comprise only 6% of all managers and administrators.

The marginality of the female labor force in Indonesia is confirmed by the following occupational statistics: 19% of all women are classified in "other" occupational categories; among the total work force classified by occupation, the proportion who are female in the nebulus "other" occupations category is 46%. This corresponds to what is in the industrial classification listed as "activities not adequately defined."

78 TABLE 10

Occupational Distribution of the Economically Active Population \*

By Sex and Percentage Who Are Female in Each Occupational Category \*

by Sex and Percentage who	Are remate in	Each Occupation	onal Category
Occupational Category	% of male work force in category	work force	
Professional/ Technical	6	5	32
Administrative/ Managerial	2	0.2	6
Clerical and Related	11	2	10
Sales	24	35	44
Services	9	13	44
Production/ Transportation	35	24	27
All Others	12	19	46
Total	99	98.2	35

<sup>\*</sup> Computations based on 1971 Census, D, Tb. 48.

There are no systematic data available either on the distribution of women workers by specific industry type or on the income levels of the employed population. (Some data are discussed later in this chapter on average remuneration received by women for different kinds of agriculture-related work).

The closest source of information on the economic condition of the Indonesian female worker is provided by a study carried out by LEKNAS, entitled Labor Force and Labor Utilization in Selected Areas of Java. Admittedly this study is experimental and restricted to a small sample size of population residing in Karanganyar, Solo, and Bandung. The results discussed below are merely illustrative of certain trends in Indonesia and are by no means intended to read as being representative for the entire country.

One of the first issues raised by the study relates to the accuracy of the 1971 Census data regarding responses recorded on women's economic participation. Specifically the report questions whether certain cultural biases regarding what is traditionally considered to be acceptable male and female domains of activity would cause respondents to overreport men's economic activity and underreport women's economic activity. This would in fact depress the number of women who are listed as economically active and inflate the number of men. In addition to the truthfulness in reporting economic activity involvement, the LEKNAS report also points out that the 1971 Census was taken in the month of September which corresponds to the month of the third and smallest harvest. This particular timing would render a less accurate account of labor force activity

particularly in the rural areas where women's work varies considerably \$6\$ with the agricultural calendar.

Of significance to the analysis of female labor force behavior in Indonesia is the finding in the LEKNAS report that while a slightly higher open unemployment rate exists for men, women have a much higher rate of "underemployment". As defined by the study, underemployment may be caused by: having too few hours work if and when one is available for more hours; by reason of low income in comparison to minimum economic need; by a mismatch of education with occupation. With respect to open unemployment the study indicates that urban males have an unemployment rate of 5.8% compared to 3.2% for females. In the rural areas men have an unemployment rate of 2.2% and females 1.1%. The LEKNAS report reveals that a greater proportion of women than men are working as many hours as they can. Of particular significance however is the fact that women rather than men tend to be underemployed by reason of low income. In the rural areas the rates were 48.7% for the women and 29.7% for the men. This clearly indicates that women tend to work longer hours and earn less for their labor than men.

When the LEKNAS data are broken down by sex and marital status an additional dimension of the sex differential is revealed. This is with respect to women workers who are widowed and divorced and who are conceivably heads of their household. The LEKNAS findings show clearly that among the economically active urban female population who are widowed and/or divorced, 27.2% earn sufficient income to support one

person but do not earn enough to support an average sized family. More critical, 65% of the widowed or divorced urban women who  $\underline{do}$  work,  $\underline{g}$  do not earn enough to support even one person. In rural areas widowed and divorced women seem to fare better in terms of earnings. Thirty-two percent (32%) of all rural widowed and/or divorced women who were economically active were able to earn enough to support a single person's needs but not enough to support an average sized family; 49% among this group were unable to earn enough to even support themselves. According to the LEKNAS study 62.6% of all widows and 74.3% of all divorcees in the rural sample were economically active. The urban sample for some unknown reason does not have data on divorcees; but 40% of the widows in that sample were economically active.

Data disaggregated by women's marital status gains significance from the fact that approximately 16% of Indonesian households are reported in the 1971 Census to be headed by women. The actual number of families headed by women is undoubtedly much greater since the Indonesian Census automatically attributes headship to the eldest male present even though this male is a mere child or a man too old to work. We would venture to state that the number of <u>de facto</u> female headed households as a consequence of divorce, desertion, or long term migration on the part of the male household head, is probably very significant.

# Agricultural and Traditional Economic Activities

Women perform at least half the income-earning activities in the rural areas, and many valuable activities connected with household maintenance and family welfare, which are unacknowledged in computations 12 of rural productivity. Women's work averages 11.1 hours per day, as 13 compared to men's 8.7 hours per day.

In Bali, Java, and elsewhere in Indonesia, the women continue to control the household finances, make most of the decisions concerning household expenditure, and control disbursements. The exceptions to this are the <a href="Prijaji">Prijaji</a> (aristocratic) and well-educated men who control more of their own earnings, as do men away from home for long periods. Besides financial management women are the small-scale traders, and in many instances the money lenders/financiers in the market. Women's businesses are usually financed through <a href="informal">informal</a> credit sources, while men generally are able to obtain credit from formal lending agencies because the property usable for collateral is in their name.

In Java, in the past, when population was in some kind of balance with available land, as it still apparently is in the Outer Islands, families only worked as much land as they needed for subsistence, plus a small surplus to pay for external needs. Usually, only as much land was worked as family members could handle. A Javanese farm is not made up entirely of sawah (irrigated land for rice cultivation). An average farm generally consisted of some sawah, which was used during the dry

season for secondary unirrigated crops, as well, <u>tegalan</u> (unirrigated land for growing food crops), and a <u>pekarangan</u> (the garden around the house). <u>Sawah</u> only made up around 40% of the total cultivatable land on farms in Central Java in the 1970's.

In the past, women's agricultural work was undertaken as a family member. Within this context, there was no strict division of labor, except that men did the heavy work in field preparation and in constructing terraces for sawahs, and women did the planting and harvesting. Men, women, and children might help each other with hoeing, weeding, or other tasks. External help was only needed at planting and harvesting when a large amount of work had to be done quickly for optimum results. It was obtained through reciprocal cooperation (gotong royong), by which neighbors and relatives, rather than hired help, pitched in with the expectation that the recipient would do the same when help was needed in turn. The women who had helped to plant the rice seedlings were entitled to take part in the harvesting of the crop, the so-called For their efforts they received a specified portion pakehan system. of what they harvested, called the bawon, generally amounting to from one-fourth to one-third of what they reaped. If additional reapers were needed, they received smaller shares of what they harvested, called ngrampijang, since they had not helped plant the rice seedlings. For the other reciprocal work performed, no in-kind compensation or wages were paid; only refreshments for those who had helped. In such a manner, sambatan (assistance) relationships were established between farmers.

Wages only began to be paid when a higher order of efficiency was available, such as utilizing the services of a man who could manage animals for ploughing and harvesting.

The situation in the Outer Islands has always been quite different from Java due to the difference in soil fertility, availability of water, and much lower population densities. Relative to Java, the Outer Islands have a land surplus, but soils of inferior fertility. Agriculture is for the most part family farming, and women participate as family members in swidden (shifting) and dry land cultivation, as well as in collecting and processing cash crop products for sale.

In Java, at the beginning of this century, land was beginning to become scarce for raising food crops as a result of two factors: the leasing of land from the peasantry for estate crops, such as sugar cane, and the continuing population growth. As a result, there was less land per person in the villages, and growing indebtedness for those who were the least successful. Gradually, land became concentrated in the hands of the families which had founded the villages, and in the hands of village officials, who often were members of founding families, due to the custom of paying active and pensioned officials with allocations of land. In Central Java, village officials might receive one-fifth of the best land in the village over time, on which unpaid labor performed all the necessary agricultural tasks. As a result, a majority of villagers came to own insufficient land for supporting their families. By the 1930's, 50% of

the villagers were without <u>sawah</u> in certain densely populated parts of 18 southeast Java. Various kinds of sharecropping arrangements developed in times of economic depression, and wage labor was introduced into the village, as well.

Women from families with little or no land became involved in these arrangements in a more direct and pragmatic fashion than the men of their families, because women more directly carry the responsibility for feeding their children. Men sustained the patron-client sambatan relations, regarded as ties of honor, and these interfered with their willingness to enter new economic relationships, such as performing low-paid labor in their village for another farmer. Landless families farmed the land of wealthier farmers to pay off indebtedness, or farmed on a sharecropping basis. Under the kedok system, as distinguished from sharecropping in which all tasks were performed, a portion of a farmer's land would be assigned for labor to another family or individual just for specific activities, such as planting, weeding, and harvesting. The person who performed the work would receive a portion of the harvest in payment, generally one-third. While originally religious teachers used this system to give support to their male pupils and have their own lands cultivated at the same time, it also became a system under which women from landless families found work as well. Actually, under the kedok system, the women performed proportionately more work for a harvest share than under the pakehan system. As the number of landless people increased, more tasks were added in return for the same compensation.

When the prices for rice went up, the land owning farmers began to turn to wage labor, because they found they could maximize profits through paying low wages rather than granting harvest shares. When the prices for rice, or other crops such as copra, cassava, or corn, were low, the landed farmers would return to the system of in-kind payment. When men and women were paid for agricultural work, such as weeding, they might be paid equal wages, but at times when labor was especially needed, men would be paid from 1¢ to 2¢ more than women, and young girls 19 received even less.

After independence in 1945, a survey of the rural areas of Java was undertaken, and it was determined that 2 hectares were needed to adequately provide subsistence and support for an average sized Javanese family of 5 people. However, the situation continued to deteriorate, and the number of people with little or no land, particularly in densely populated areas like Yoqyakarta, increased. In the 1970's one survey of Yogyakarta determined that 84% of the farms were less than 0.5 hectare Another survey discovered that 1.2% of the households owned in size. almost 25% of the rice lands; 40% had farms that were below 0.2 hectare, and 37% were completely landless. Even with off-farm labor and other sources of income such as fish ponds and animal raising, farmers need at least 0.5 hectare for enough to fulfill their reasonable needs. Therefore, over 75% of the villagers were without enough rice land to sustain themselves and had to seek off-farm sources of income. By 1970, 57% of rural people and 54% of urban people on Java lived below the

poverty line.

In the context of the progressive impoverishment of larger and larger portions of the rural population in Java, the situation of women from families with little or no land, who had no sambatan or patronclient relations, was worsened, because they customarily received lower wages than men for all forms of labor, except harvesting. In addition, impoverished women who were forced to go outside their own villages to earn extra income received smaller shares than those who lived in the village in which the harvest took place. Off-farm agricultural labor is an important source of income to all villagers, male and female, and for most women, harvesting other people's rice is more lucrative than any other income-earning activity. Even so, the returns for this are poor. For instance, one study of a rainy harvest indicated that a landless household which had an average of 2.5 women harvesting earned an average of 111.1 kg. of rice, which is less than half of the "poverty line". equivalent for one person per year.

According to the 1971 Census, 31% of economically active females worked off-farm, and 24% were "employees" -- 1% more than male rural employees. In this category, too, the kinds of off-farm activities usually done by women provide a much smaller return per hour of labor than for men's. For instance, a man with plough animals might earn between 70-90 rupiahs per hour, while women's tasks, such as harvesting might earn between 16-20 rupiahs, weeding, hoeing, and transplanting, will bring in between 6-11

rupiahs per hour. Even in trading, a woman on foot might earn 5-10 rupiahs per hour while a man will bring in 15 rupiahs with the same level of capitalization. Other activities in which women predominate, such as food preparation, animal husbandry, and handicrafts, bring in from 1.5 - 12 rupiahs per hour of labor. Handicrafts is the least productive of all, bringing in 1.5 - 3 rupiahs per hour.

Once agricultural produce comes to the market it may be sold to women market traders in Central and East Java who are specialized according to produce, and see to the elementary processing, where necessary, and to the storage of whatever they had not sold. The majority of women are retail traders operating with very small amounts of capital. Although there are large scale women traders, most of the makelars (brokers), who buy up the crop in advance and arrange for its transport to market, are men. Women traders usually sell dry field crops like corn, cassava, onions, as well as rice. They also sell perishables, the fruits and vegetables from the pekarangan. In addition, they are the traditional meat sellers in the market, and they arrange for the slaughter of the animals. Women traders sell cloth, and other necessities in the rural areas, such as imported enamelware. They might sell from the market, or go out to the villages and sell house to house. Women traders, however, usually return home every night, and so contain their operation to a walking radius from their homes, unless they can afford transport. As harvest and rice hulling work opportunities have

diminished, more women have gone into trade to the extent, according to one knowledgeable commentator, that there are more women traders than 29 customers in some rural markets.

As previously stated, the largest source of women's income derives from harvesting rice. The other sources of income, which will be discussed below, afford less income in relation to the time worked. They are resorted to by rural women only when harvesting work is over, or unavailable. Such work constitutes the largest part of the work of landless and poorest women.

In poor households, men, women, and children have to work at whatever job they can get, no matter how poor the returns, in order to survive.

Women perform agricultural labor for the growing of field crops other than rice, although their input is less than men's. They collect forest products such as fire-wood, resin, and kapok for sale and work in the growing of rushes, screw pine, oil palm, maize, manioc, millet, and soybeans.

They work also as water carriers for themselves and others. In Bali, women work as coolies carrying charcoal and building materials. Women work along with men cultivating certain cash crops on estates, like sugar and tobacco, and on family size farms, cultivating cash crops such as onions and cucumbers. They also grow some cash crops on their own, such as mushrooms. Women are involved in picking coffee, tea, and tobacco, and in drying these products. They collect the latex from rubber trees. Women grow vegetables and fruits in the pekarangan, and they raise chickens, pigs, and other small animals.

Another important source of income for women has been in food preparation, food preservation, and in sale of prepared foods and drinks.

Women prepare and preserve certain condiments and foods through fermentation,

the action of molds, and through drying, like tape, tempe, ontjom, terasi ketjap, kerupuk, dendeng, and tahu. They boil and salt eggs for sale, make starch, pati, from cassava, and fry lontong, and various kinds of chips made from cassava, bananas, and plantains. They make drinks from coconut, dawat, and from fruits and syrup. Women boil the sap from coconut trees to make brown sugar, gula jawa, and syrup. They extract cooking oil from coconut, and dry coconut for copra. They collect herbs for jamu, and spices for cooking. Women also make flour and meal on a small scale for local consumption. They sell these foods and items from little stands (warung), or door to door in local villages and towns.

Women also derive some income from handicraft, although not as much as is usually supposed. Handicraft products have had to compete disadvantageously with manufactured domestic products, and with imports. However, women's organizations, government community development programs, and voluntary agencies are making attempts to revive cottage industries. Ameliorative measures, on a very minor basis, have been attempted experimentally in the field of appropriate technology, for example, through upgrading the quality of pottery made by women in South Sulawesi to compete with aluminum cook ware. Some of the handicraft items still made, such as the intricate basketry made by Balinese women for floral decorations, are a for ceremonial use only. The bulk of handicraft items still made in Java, however, are for sale either in the rural areas, small towns, or cities. Women make kitchen utensils and pottery, weave cloth, plait baskets, 35 weave mats, and make woven panels out of palm leaves for roof thatch (atap). (See Chapter 4 for discussion of changes in these activities.)

Some of the work village women do is on a piece-work basis for urban entrepreneurs under the so-called mak<u>loon</u> (putting-out) system. this system the entrepreneur, the bakul, supplies the materials and rural women perform the work for certain stages in the production of a product in their homes. They go to the bakul for the raw materials and return their finished work to the bakul, at which time they are paid. The bakul may pass this work on to another village woman for the final stage in production. This is particularly the case for the production of batiks in which rural women, skilled in this art, wax successive designs on one piece of material and after it has been dyed by men, another village woman specialist scrapes off the wax. Women also roll clove cigarettes, kretek, on a piece work basis in their homes (the ambon system) with the tobacco and wrappers supplied by the factory. Weaving may also be undertaken under the makloon system with the bakul supplying the yarn. The bakuls might be either women or men; a majority of the batik bakuls who produce the finest tulis batiks are women.

To date, the poorest women of Java have been untouched by any rural improvement programs. Their situation appears to keep worsening as former employment opportunities disappear. While as a result of the new agricultural technology introduced into the rural areas, "125 million women days of wage labor was lost in Java, the <u>kabupaten</u> public works program in 1972-3 provided 43.6 million men days of employment throughout Indonesia." When one village woman near Yogyakarta was recently asked what poor women were going to do, considering that their income-earning opportunities had diminished so radically in the last several years, she replied that there wasn't anything they could do except, "le nedha ngatos-atos" (we will eat more 37 carefully).

## Entrepreneurs

Every small-scale woman trader who organizes, manages, and assumes the risks of her business or enterprise is an entrepreneur. The activities of rural, small-scale, women itinerant and market traders fall within this category. In the majority of instances such women traders operate on just capital for a day's selling, and if they have a business failure, lose no more than a day's investment, since one day's earnings go to finance They typify the "own account" entrepreneur, a category which the next. made up 27% of all economically active women in the 1971 Census, the same percentage prevailing for both urban and rural economically active women. This category includes, in addition to traders, rural women who buy produce and transport it to market for sale, who prepare and sell food, extract oil, make pottery, boil sap into sugar, plait baskets and mats, make atap roofing panels out of palm leaves, and collect herbs and combine them to make jamu. Everywhere in Indonesia women entrepreneurs produce hand-woven cloth, although not in as great quantity as formerly. Textiles are made for sale, as well as ceremonial use, and still are used as in-kind currency in certain transactions.

In the urban areas, female entrepreneurs also operate on a small-scale, particularly in food and beverage preparation and sale at stalls and <u>liar</u> (literally "wild", meaning temporary) sidewalk restaurants. They also sell small amounts of produce, meat, cigarettes, household necessities, toiletries, and cloth from house to house, and at markets and <u>warung</u> (stands). The very poorest women entrepreneurs operate in urban areas as rag-pickers and collectors of discarded items such as bottles, old clothing, tires, and

paper. They also collect cigarette butts which they unroll for the 40 tobacco which is recycled into cigarettes again by small-scale enterprises.

Middle class entrepreneurs operate beauty salons, florist shops, and floral nurseries, and provide many home services. Skilled women come to the homes of their clients to do dressmaking, or can be sought out in their own homes for such services. A surprising variety of women's enterprises are operated from homes. Women cater for daily meals as well as for special occasions. It is quite usual in urban areas to order food for a meal in advance from a woman caterer who has it delivered in rantangs. stacked covered round containers. Women also have established successful bakeries from their homes. Groceries can be sold from the home. More usually, the finest Indonesian batiks, antiques, objets de'art, and jewelry are for sale from the home, as well as the most effective jamus. Some urban women entrepreneurs also have routes that take them outside the home, even to the extent of driving a car, or utilizing public transportation, including planes or ships, to sell items of high value and small bulk, such as jewelry. Knowledgeable upper class women have become real estate agents, particularly for expatriates. Many have become involved in buying up land in desirable locations in cities with acute housing 41 shortages, building houses, and renting them out primarily to foreigners.

The majority of rural women become entrepreneurs because they have no other way of earning sufficient income, aside from agriculture, since up to fairly recently their opportunities for other training were severely limited, and few lived near factories which employed women. It was also apparent that entrepreneurship might possibly produce an adequate income. Urban women also become entrepreneurs out of economic necessity, but they

may also be put in such a position as a result of inheriting the enterprise from their family, or as a result of having gone into business in partnership with their husband, and assuming active management.

Urban women frequently turn to business because their husband's salary is inadequate. Positions in government service continued to have the highest prestige after independence, but salaries were very low, and therehas been continuing inflation. Confronted with such a situation, urban women have searched out ways to contribute to the family income. Although trade is looked down upon by the prijaji and educated elite, it is condoned if done out of necessity, and in not too professional a manner. The traditional way to cope has been to operate a small batik enterprise, following on the example of prijaji women who augmented the inadequate salaries of husbands serving the sultans of Solo (Surakarta) and Yogyakarta in positions of high honor. It is a hallmark of an upper class woman's status to know how to train and manage a large household staff of unskilled, illiterate, generally rural, young, and poor, women servants, through breaking down complex operations into simple components. Having exercised training and managerial abilities in running the household efficiently and economically, it is not too great a step to use the same highly developed abilities in home-based labor-intensive enterprises.

Urban women have been the entrepreneurs, or <u>bakuls</u>, for various small-scale consumer industries which require capital to buy quantities of raw materials which can be worked on through the putting-out system, or worked on in small <u>ateliers</u> in their homes. In both cases, rural as well as urban women are involved, working on a piece-work basis, as in the production of the finest batik, the <u>tulis</u>. This enterprise, however, is losing out to technology. (See Chapter 4.)

According to the 1971 census, female entrepreneurs who are employers only make up 3% of all economically active women. This may be an underaccounting because of the tendency to register business in the husband's name, or as a result of failure to register to avoid payment of business taxes. Out of all economically active Indonesians who are employers, women constituted 22%, and men 78%. The line between "own account" and "employer" entrepreneurs fluctuates in the rural areas with seasonal demand. When demand is high, first helpers are gathered from within the family, and if they are insufficient, outside workers are hired. When demand is sustained, an entrepreneur becomes an employer. The 1971 census indicates that there is a slightly higher percentage of female employer entrepreneurs in the economically active female rural population, 3%, than in the economically active female urban population, 2%. This may be, in part, because rural women's cottage industry enterprises frequently are attached to a large-scale factory. The cottage industry is given the raw material by the factory, and undertakes one stage in manufacture for the factory, under the ambon system. If the factory is overloaded, the cottage industry will take on the extra work, as well. The ambon system is used in the rolling of kretek cigarettes, or in winding thread, or undertaking other preparatory processes, for weaving.

One-fourth of the urban households in all regions of Indonesia were
45
engaged in household commercial enterprises. However, it is not stated
whether these were own account or employer enterprises. Most Indonesian

enterprises managed by Indonesian men, as well as by women, are small-scale. In 1961, 84% of Indonesian enterprises employed less than 50 people. The majority of enterprises were concerned with the manufacture of foods and beverages, tobacco products, textiles, wearing apparel, leather objects, 46 and with printing. While a majority of small-scale enterprises are still operated from the home, as they become more highly capitalized they move out into proper shops and factories.

Middle and upper class women are often in more highly capitalized enterprises, since they have the means and contacts to acquire trading merchandise, or to manufacture products. They also have the knowledge of wider markets, and of the kinds of designs and standards of production required. Such women operate or direct factories which produce pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, tooth paste, shoes, and other leather goods. They also operate hotels and restaurants, and are publishers of journals. In one instance, a woman directs a large and distinguished Indonesian publishing firm. Women operate pharmacies, interior decorating services, fashionable boutiques, and taxi rentals. Women entrepreneurs are distributors of foreign imports, such as fashionable clothing, accessories, cosmetics, and even films, as well. Exceptional women of this sort often earn more than their civil servant husbands. They have organized themselves into an association of Indonesian Business Women which is affiliated with the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce.

Professional women constitute a small but growing elite. Up until fairly recently the majority were members of Indonesia's most prominant 48 families. Certain women professionals have their own practice, in addition to government employment, or engage in their own professions full-time, such as pharmacists, doctors, dentists, engineers, architects,

lawyers, actresses, producers, dancers, dress designers, music and dance teachers. In the health field, nurses, and mid-wives, as well as dukuns, specializing in massage as well as birth deliveries, can also operate independently.

#### Women Workers

Indonesia has some of the most comprehensive labor legislation in the world to protect female wage earners: women are entitled to free medical examinations before and after pregnancy for themselves and their child; one and a half months of maternity leave before and after birth or miscarriage, or more, depending on the physician's order; and two days per month off during menstruation. They are permitted to suckle their child during working hours. They also are not to work between 22:00 hours and 05:00 hours, unless it is for an essential service such as a hospital, and are not to hold positions hazardous to their health or morals. They are not allowed to work in underground mines. They are to receive equal pay for equal work, and equal benefits such as paid annual vacations. Women, as well as men, work seven hours a day, forty hours per week. The minimum age for starting work is 14 years of age; children between the ages of 8 and 14 years of age are prohibited from working.

However, one extremely important law is lacking: there is no minimum wage. Apart from government service, there is no uniform salary structure, and there have been no official suggestions or stipulations which indicate compensation levels for those who have completed secondary school, academy, or university training. Wages are arbitrarily decided by the employer where there is a labor surplus, or established by collective bargaining when there is a labor scarcity. Modern industry parallels, or more often exceeds, government salary levels.

Perhaps the reason that a minimum wage law never has been passed is because traditionally Indonesian male wage-earners have preferred the security of fringe benefits of housing, medical care, pensions, dependent allowances, and school fee allowances for each child, to higher wages. Furthermore, because of continuing inflation, and the scarcity of living essentials in the past, workers have asked for in-kind compensation in living necessities, such as rice, cooking oil, textiles, and soap, rather than certain levels of guaranteed wage in relation to the value of work performed. In contrast, modern corporate employers, and even the government ministries, are trying to extricate themselves from such paternalistic arrangements today.

The advanced legislation protecting women workers only has been completely implemented in the civil service; elsewhere it is partially implemented, or even not put into effect at all. It is by-passed in various ingenious ways, or works to the disadvantage of women, as in the non-hiring of women because of a revolving shift system at an enterprise which would entail night work. However, a few weaving mills have received permission to employ women at night through assuring their security to and from work. In private enterprises, either only young, unmarried girls are hired who sign an agreement promising to resign if they become married or pregnant, or men are hired instead. If married women are hired, no salary is paid during maternity leave, or the leave period is shortened, or they only receive half pay. In addition, there are not enough labor inspectors to enforce even the most fundamental provisions of the labor laws: and since the salaries of the inspectors are many times lower than

the supervisory staff of private enterprises, there are always ways to influence conscientious inspectors to make exceptions. Since 1966, the atmosphere of the country has been pro-business as a means to accelerate national development. Labor unions, which in other circumstances might exert heavy pressure to assure worker benefits, have reduced influence since they have no mass-based political power, largely because of past Communist involvement. Therefore, health and safety standards are not vigorously enforced, because if the factory pleads lack of funds to implement worker safeguards, the government will not close it down since it is reasoned that the employment opportunities and income generated are  $\frac{52}{52}$  more important. It is usually only the largest private enterprises which provide adequate working conditions and worker benefits.

There are women's labor unions as well as industrial labor unions.

For example, in Jakarta women civil servants have their own organization, the Indonesian Association of Women Workers, <a href="Persatwi">Persatwi</a>, (Persatuan Tenaga Kerja Wanita), in addition to the Indonesian Corps of Civil Servants. In principle, <a href="Persatwi">Persatwi</a> is open to women working in the private sector, as well.

Persatwi established the "Contact-Body of Indonesian Women Workers" in 1972 which is dedicated to eliminating discrimination against, and exploitation of, women workers, and to improving their working conditions. It publishes information through its bulletin on the problems of women employees, and provides guidance to women workers through the consultation bureau it established. It holds yearly seminars, as well, in Jakarta and other cities, 53 on the status of women workers. However, it has not functioned effectively.

Throughout the world, women find more employment in labor-intensive industries, and men in capital-intensive industries; the situation is, and always has been, the same in Indonesia. Because there has always been a surplus of labor, competition for employment is high, and wage rates are kept low. Since women traditionally receive less compensation than men in many occupations, many of the early labor-intensive industries employed large numbers of women. One of the most important of these is cigarette manufacture, and another is textiles.

According to the latest reports, the tobacco industry is continuing to expand, although there is a tendency to close down small factories and expand large ones. In 1969 there were 325 factories in Central and East Java; in 1974, 400; and in 1976, 437, with the largest having 20,000 employees. The tobacco industry is unique in being the largest employer of female manufacturing labor and is the only major manufacturing industry which has proportionately more women employees, 65%, than men, 35%.

Somewhat dated statistics available for the tobacco industry in 1959 show that 93% of the workers were daily paid workers, and only 7% were paid by the month. Of those paid by the month, only 10% were women, while they 55 constituted 69% of the daily paid workers. The women who worked as daily paid workers were for the most part rural women who came to the factory to work for the day on a piece-work basis. Those working on a piece-work basis received no fringe benefits, while the wage employees did. Women workers were paid less than men employees for performing the same work up until 56 By that time the daily wage paid kretek cigarette workers was lower than for any other comparable unskilled wage-earning occupation. Harbor laborers earned Rp. 21 per day, kretek workers earned Rp. 7.50 per day.

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The proportions of male and female wage-earners in the textile industry were reversed. In 1959, male wage-earners constituted 61% of the work force, and female workers 39%. In addition, this industry had proportionately more monthly-paid female workers than tobacco. Male monthly-paid workers generally are in a supervisory or managerial position; women monthly-paid employees do not hold as many of such positions in mechanized textile manufacture as in batik production. Textile manufacture, just as the making of cigarettes, can rely less on the urban than on the rural labor of women who come to the factory from their villages on a daily basis. In a survey conducted in East Java in the early 1960s, it was shown that rather than such work being a disruptive experience for rural women, the hours worked were comparable to those worked outside the home in traditional off-farm activities; the training methods made use of traditional task-splitting techniques; and the women found such work lighter than agricultural labor and transporting crops to market. In fact, they preferred it. 59 (The textile industry is feeling the effects of modernization and employment opportunities are decreasing. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of this trend.)

Multi-national corporations in search of cheap labor and amenable workers have invested in Indonesia, offering women new opportunities in two modern, relatively labor-intensive industries: electronics and the export-oriented garment industry. The multi-nationals started using Asian female labor in Japan, and as female wage rates rose there, moved successively to South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia. Theoretically, Indonesia is in a favorable position to attract foreign investment in these fields, particularly from the United States.

because Indonesia was among the OPEC nations which did not raise oil prices during the 1973-1974 oil embargo, and therefore, in gratitude, its 60 exports would not be subject to United States tariffs. In addition, Indonesia is a preferred area of investment out of all OPEC countries for European countries, particularly West Germany. To further encourage such investment, Indonesia has established a free trade zone where components can be assembled without a value-added tax on the finished product.

However, Indonesia does have a few disadvantages from the point of view of the multi-national corporations. Up until recently it has had an inadequate transport, power, and communications infrastructure. recently installed communications satellite was to compensate for this inadequacy, among other reasons. Indonesia is also regarded as lacking a sufficient number of well-trained managerial and technical personnel. To attract foreign capital, Indonesia has offered six-year tax holidays, duty-free import of equipment, and unimpeded return of profits. It also 63 has promoted as an attraction for foreign investors its cheap female labor. Indonesian business publications advertise that its female workers work for 17¢ (U.S.) per hour, one-third less than women in Malaysia and Singapore, Indonesia's nearest competitors. The results of such promotional activity has been that approximately 8,000 Indonesian women workers in the handful of electronics firms around Jakarta and Bandung are working for one-third less than other Asian women workers. They do not even receive the housing and other fringe benefits that female electronics workers receive in Penang. They receive medical care and have a canteen or cafeteria while in Penang women have in addition to these benefits, classes, a library, a company store, uniforms, and social and recreational activities. Furthermore.

it is alleged by foreigners concerned with working conditions elsewhere in the world, that Southeast Asian governments, in their zeal to attract foreign investors, have not insisted on adequate standards to protect the  $^{65}$  health of electronics assembly workers. The electronics firms counter that they are offering employment in a situation where every kind of employment is badly needed, and that their wage level and working conditions are equal, if not better, to their indigenous counterparts in the manuace  $^{66}$  facturing field. If all continues well for the multi-nationals, there are plans for expansion.

The Indonesian government wants to attract more electronics investment. and is not likely to change existing practices for fear of losing the needed business. Already. United States electronics firms are beginning to turn to the Caribbean which is geographically more convenient, and has equally efficient low-wage labor and an adequate communications infrastructure. Furthermore, there are indications that the assembling process, which has been so absorptive of female labor, will become automated in the next decade and move back to the centers of electronics production in the United States. In this, the electronics industry would follow the pattern of other industries where, once labor problems become potentially troublesome, automation is implemented.

As for the export-oriented garment industry, it is still extremely small, but is a growing industry, specializing in ready-to-wear items, principally shirts and trousers. The Indonesian government hopes to attract more investment in this field through offering duty-free entrepôt manufacturing facilities to foreign and domestic investors. There were 123 garment workshops in Indonesia in 1976, using approximately 4,267 sewing

machines. Most garment workshops are small, using less than 40 machines. They are located, for the most part, in West and Central Java and in 67 Sumatra.

## Government Employment

It is only in government employment that Indonesian women have the assurance of fully benefitting from the advanced labor legislation passed since independence. In principle, all positions are open to them in all branches of government. In the late 1950s,7% of the posts in the civil service were filled by women. Today women occupy 18% of all civil service positions, which amounts to more than 300,000 jobs. At the highest level (echelon 4), there are 474 women civil servants, five of whom occupy the highest sub-echelon. More than half of the women civil servants (57.8%) have a higher secondary education. Generally, most departments are headed by men, although there are a few services, such as archeology, and in health and welfare, which are headed by women with university degrees, as are a few faculties in state universities.

Although women have made gains in government employment, the reasons advanced for their comparatively low employment in this field relative to men and lack of advancement to top positions in larger numbers, are historical. Women had taken over many positions which had previously been male preserves during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and during the revolution (1945-1949). In the "general scramble for personal position that followed independence," women were pressured to step down. In the post-independence period, the first opportunities for higher education were given to men. When the men who had received a higher degree abroad returned, they took over the highest positions, even if they were inexperienced, since they were the

most academically qualified. Today there is tremendous competition for civil service positions because of job security, the perquisites, and the prestige attached to public employment, particularly in administration. Women were made to feel that men needed these jobs first and foremost to support their families, and so for the sake of harmony, stepped aside.

However, it is noteworthy that Indonesian women are employed in certain government departments in greater numbers proportionately, and at higher levels, than in many developing countries. For example, in 1975 there were 306 women judges out of 1,913 judges (about 16%) for the courts of first instance, and courts of appeal. One woman judge sits on the supreme court. A woman economist has a high level post at the National Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS).

Women also have opportunities for employment in the military services in non-combat posts, as well as in the police department working primarily with juveniles, vice control and traffic control.

Indonesian women have been sent as official representatives to international organizations such as the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and UNICEF's headquarters for its family planning program.

Women civil servants and their widowers are entitled to receive the same pensions as men and their widows. The retirement age is the same for men and women, 56, or retirement is granted at 50 if 20 years of service have been completed. A higher age of retirement is permissable for those working at state universities and in the supreme court.

In regard to perquisites such as housing, transport, medical care, child allowances, and government distribution of foods and textiles to their employees, women civil servants complain that men are always given

priority, particularly in regard to housing and transport. Men are usually given the first opportunities for assignment abroad whether in the Foreign Service or to attend international meetings. Generally male civil servants still receive more opportunities for further training outside of the country than women.

## Women's Formal and Informal Credit Systems

Traditionally Indonesian women have had a variety of channels for raising money individually and collectively. Collectively, their most well-known informal institution is the <u>arisan</u>, the rotating savings association which has other names such as <u>djulo-djulo</u>, <u>sarikat</u>, <u>hwe</u>, <u>mapaus wang</u>, and <u>sakaha</u>.

Arisans are composed of groups of women who meet together on the basis of friendship, occupation, or neighborliness, generally once a month. At each meeting members contribute an agreed upon amount, lots are drawn, and one member collects the pot. After each member has had a turn to collect the pot, the <u>arisan</u> is disbanded. New <u>arisans</u> might be formed again with the same members, or another grouping of women might be made. <u>Arisans</u> are used by all kinds of women; traders, farmers, wage-earners, and entrepreneurs. for women, they have a social function which is equal in importance to the economic one.

The <u>simpan pinjam</u> is an informal savings and loan association in which each member contributes whatever amount they wish. Whenever several members need a loan, whatever money which has been collected is divided and given to them. The loan recipients agree to repay the loan within a specified period of time, usually a few months, at a low rate of interest. At the end of the year, the profit derived from the interest charged is divided among the members.

On an individual level, Indonesian women save money through investing savings in jewelry, fine batiks, and even a house or land, if they can 72 afford it. Often chickens are bought in the rural areas when there is extra cash. Considering the protein deficiency in the Indonesian diet, expatriate observers have often wondered why the wandering fowl in a Javanese village do not seem to be a regular part of the diet, but rather appear to be raised principally for sale or for a ceremonial feast. The answer is that fowl, like jewelry, may be a rural woman's savings account. These investments are sold whenever money is needed for school fees,or in times of scarcity for food and clothing, for important ceremonies, or simply kept 73 for contingencies.

Women also participate in the formal credit market. For rural people credit is often a continuing necessity, particularly at the time before the harvest, called <u>paceklik</u>, which is often a time of scarcity. Even in a city like Jakarta 20% of earnings might be obtained in non-income receipts of which a part can be derived from in-kind compensation. However, non
74 income receipts might also be made up from loans and credit.

Women often borrow money from money-lenders who might charge up to 75 100% interest per year. The money lender might as easily be a woman as a man, and can be a landowner, a merchant, a <u>bakul</u> (entrepreneur/broker), or a trader. They also borrow money from their employer, be it an individual or a company. Repayment might be in the form of sharecropping or in doing a particular piece of work the lender needs to have done.

Money can be borrowed, or in-kind essentials might be advanced, such as rice and textiles. If the borrowing is made from a patron with whom the client has a continuing relationship, the debt is hardly ever re-paid in full; rather the outstanding balance becomes the basis of a new loan. This

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is particularly true in patron-client relationships such as between wholesalers and retailers and a <u>prijaji</u> woman and her servants. In all such transactions, the borrower pays an extremely high interest charge, payable in money or work, eventhough usury is illegal and condemned by Islam.

In spite of the high interest charges, women often prefer to borrow from money-lenders at high rates of interest than from formal government lending institutions. This is because the money-lender is more flexible about repayment, usually understanding if a loan repayment is a bit late because of a family crisis. Also, complete repayment is not always required before another loan can be made. A woman who had been reliable in the past would have no difficulty in getting a loan from a <a href="mailto:bakul">bakul</a>. Between harvests it is almost a matter of routine that <a href="mailto:bakuls">bakuls</a> will advance credits to those who work for them under the putting-out system. In addition, the women produce-<a href="mailto:bakuls">bakuls</a> might buy the crop from the farmer on credit, and repay the farmer after the crop is sold.

Under the <u>ijon</u> system, the bakul might advance money to the farmer at high rates of interest before the crop matures, while it is still green (<u>ijo</u>) in the field. Not only rice and field crops are bought under the <u>ijon</u> system, but also fruits, coconut sugar, kapok, and tobacco. The government has tried to stop the operation of <u>ijon</u> because, in effect, it is a form of money-lending at exceedingly high rates of interest ranging from 8% to 60% per month. In addition, the lender, rather than the farmer, realizes the advantage of any raise in produce prices which occurs between the time the price was contracted for and what it actually sells for at the market. The lender is usually more knowledgeable about price trends.

By contrast to the ease of borrowing from these local sources, using a formal institution can be a frustrating and time-consuming experience. In the past, the application for a loan from a formal lending institution could require the farmer to walk to a small town which might be up to 40 km away, and spend several hours making out applications with involved stipulations. The granting of the loan might require co-signers, in which event there might be several trips back and forth. Repayment would have to be prompt and within a convenient period of time.

Ijon is known to be widespread throughout Java, and it occurs in the Outer Islands as well. Because it is illegal, it is difficult to determine what percentage of total credit is extended in this manner, and to what degree it is used by farming women, as separate from households, and by women traders and bakuls. Women must be deeply involved in repaying ijon loans since repayment is not only rice, the most important repayment commodity, but also can be in handicraft items, processed or prepared food, or agricultural labor. Some of the ijon agreements are forms of debt bondage, particularly for the landless agricultural laborers who need money urgently for subsistence and are never able to repay their loans completely.

Women traders generally finance their operations from their previous day's receipts, and buy from wholesale dealers on credit repayable in 81 installments. Delayed payment and consignment trading are other methods 82 through which women traders operate.

As for formal lending institutions in the rural areas, there is the Bank Rakjat Indonesia (The People's Bank of Indonesia) which has branches localized in every kabupaten (regency). The branches make loans against valuable collateral such as land or specific crops such as rice, maize, soy-

beans, sugar, and cotton. They do not grant loans for fruits, vegetables, 83 or on household equipment, the latter being what women would more commonly own than the other assets. The loans are at low rates of interest, repayable in seven months. Due to the lending stipulations, the majority of rural women are unable to borrow money from the bank, particularly the women who are landless laborers. There are mobile banks which make borrowing more convenient, but, unfortunately, they have similar collateral requirements.

Other formal rural lending institutions are the <u>Bank Minggon</u> and <u>Badan Kredit Desa</u>, making small loans at low interest to small-scale business people. Wealthy women traders can use the <u>Bank Pasar</u> (Market Bank), in addition to other formal institutions. It grants loans on their 84 signatures. There are also <u>desa lumbungs</u>, paddy banks, to which families contribute rice. They are for consumption during the <u>paceklik</u>, and other times of scarcity. Repayment is in rice. The <u>Bimas</u> credit program was principally for landowning farmers who wanted to raise the rice HYVs and needed extra cash for pesticides and fertilizers. For the most part, the formal lending institutions are for use by the better-off class of people in the rural areas. Many loan programs have not been able to operate on a sustained basis and some have gone bankrupt.

Most poor women use the government-run pawn shops more often than any other formal credit institution. Loans can be made for one-half of the value of the article pawned at an interest of 5%. An article can be 86 left for a maximum six-month period before it will be sold.

Cooperatives also have been established for the purpose of making loans, operating somewhat like the informal <u>simpan pinjams</u>. In the rural areas, they are usually operated by teachers, or by literate land-owning

farmers; in the coastal areas, by fishermen. Many of these credit cooper-87 atives fail after a time because the members default on repayment.

In the rural areas, people rely on informal credit arrangements more often than on formal institutions. In a study of a rice growing area near Jakarta, apart from the <u>ijon</u> system, people obtained in-kind and money loans, or advances, in the following percentages from the following sources: 34.9% from relatives; 35% from friends; 28.9% from traders; and 2.2% from 88 formal institutions like banks, cooperatives, and pawnshops.

In the urban areas, poor women resort to many of the same informal credit institutions that rural women use. Middle and upper class women make use of the formal credit institutions which are both women-specific and general. The women-specific institutions include a Women's Bank in Bandung which started in the 1930 s and had 1,200 members and 17 branches by the late 1950s. During the latter period 13 women's cooperative banks were established in Jakarta, including one sponsored by the Women's Congress, Kongres Wanita Indonesia. These banks are operated like credit unions and have been established to encourage women to save and to protect them 90 They also offer small business-women a low-interest from money-lenders. source for loans. Such institutions offer counselling in modern business management and personal financial affairs. In fact, women's organizations have put a great emphasis on improving the economic status of women, and they have been heavily involved in establishing cooperative women-specific credit institutions throughout Indonesia. For example, in the 1970s Perwari established a number of savings and loan societies to grant aid to Indonesian Middle and upper class women also utilize general savings inwomen. stitutions such as the Postal Savings Bank, the Bank of Indonesia, and other private banks.

## Women's Role in Cooperatives

Male <u>prijaji</u> civil servants established the first cooperatives in Indonesia in the last decade of the 19th century. They did so as a means to provide low interest loans to themselves so they would no longer have 92 to pay usurious rates to money lenders. Subsequently cooperatives were founded by male Muslim Indonesian textile entrepreneurs to improve their commercial position vis-a-vis the more highly capitalized foreign Asian mercantile community. The cooperatives which have arisen spontaneously have continued to be principally for the same sectors of the female as well as male population, and have continued to be mainly of these two types: institutional cooperatives for savings and loans and entrepreneurial cooperatives for purchasing wholesale and raw materials and for distribution. Some cooperatives include both men and women and some include women-only.

In the entrepreneurial cooperative sector, more highly capitalized women 93 traders may participate in credit, purchasing, and market cooperatives.

As owners, not as workers, women are members of the batik industry cooperatives. The same is the case for handicraft, <a href="lurik">lurik</a> weaving, and ready-made clothing cooperatives which are for the benefit of the <a href="bakuls">bakuls</a> rather than their employees.

The largest involvement of women in cooperatives is in the batik industry. Although over half of the 107,720 batik companies are owned by families, women run many family batik enterprises, and operate about a quarter of the total number on their own. The batik cooperatives are unified on the national level into the <u>Gabungan Koperasi Batik Indonesia</u>. The G.K.B.I. has proven to be a continuing viable organization, helping its members through making loans, purchasing supplies, and establishing marketing

and distribution channels. It also built its own factory for its member batik entrepreneurs. However, the leadership of the G.K.B.I. appeared to be entirely male in 1968 on the national level, and predominantly male on 94 the local level.

Many cooperatives since independence have been founded as a result of government or voluntary agency stimulation, suggestion, or even imposition. The first consumer cooperatives were founded during the 1930s. Their further development, along with other types of cooperatives, was stimulated after independence by the interest of the then Vice President, Mohd. Hatta, in the international cooperative movement. In the early 1960s, consumer cooperatives were expanded as a result of a government regulation which had the intent of facilitating distribution of essentials to the local level at non-inflated prices. Women have participated in consumer cooperatives as the heads of neighborhood <u>rumah tanggas</u>, and as members of these cooperatives, as well as other consumption cooperatives.

It is a matter of government policy to stimulate the formation of 95 cooperatives on the village level for self-help. Paddy banks, <u>lumbung</u> desa, and elementary processing and marketing cooperatives have been established; also recently rice-huller operators have formed cooperatives. The Directorate of Cooperatives has a Bureau of Village Community Development which encourages women to form cooperatives for loans, consumption, marketing of handicrafts, and of produce, and all sorts of activities; for example, to purchase sets of dishes and cutlery which can be loaned to village families, in turn, for celebrations. Voluntary agencies have stimulated the formation of cooperatives as well. Many women's organizations promote their establishment as a means to improve women's status, and the welfare

of their families, particularly in the case of poorer women wage-earners

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and unpaid family workers. Women's organizations such as <u>Perwari</u>, which
has established 95 cooperatives, and <u>Pertiwi</u>, and <u>Persit</u>, have founded many

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as well. In fact, almost all women's organizations have founded a few.

Women participate in the many agricultural cooperatives as family members more often than as individuals.

Aside from the batik industry cooperatives and institutional cooperatives, the majority have not been particularly successful, due mainly to the inexperience of those managing them. The government hopes to improve the viability of future cooperatives through better training of managerial personnel. To date, most of the cooperatives are found in Java with Central Java, including Yogyakarta, having the highest number. In absolute numbers, in 1961, the largest percentage of cooperatives were village cooperatives, followed by consumer, credit, and production cooperatives, in that order. There is a government ministry for cooperatives, the Ministry of Transmigration and Cooperatives, and it is a matter of policy that one of the major sectors of future development is women's cooperatives.

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## CHAPTER 3. DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

# Population Characteristics

Indonesia's population estimated in 1976 to have reached 132 million people is growing at an increasingly high rate. Annual growth rates have risen from 1.5% during 1930-61 to 2.1% during 1961-71. By January 1976 the rate had increased to 2.3%.

Growth rates for the 1961-1970 intercensal decade were highest in Jakarta (4.6%), Lampung (5.2%), followed by Central Kalimantan (3.5%) and Central Sulawesi (3.4%). The differentials are accounted for mostly by changing patterns in migratory streams flowing historically mostly into Jakarta; more recently to the Outer Islands. During the 1961-1970 period, Jakarta derived 50% of its population growth from migration. Since 1961 other cities in Java have witnessed lower growth rates, mostly because they ceased to become permanent absorbing areas for rural migrants as they have done in the past. One now expects to witness considerable city growth in Sumatra and Kalimantan, for example, since these have now become repositories for migratory streams.

Indonesia is a predominantly rural country; 83% of its population-were classified in 1971 as "rural". Some of its provinces are almost entirely rural, such as Sulawesi and Aceh, among others. The proportion of the economically active population who are engaged in agricultural activities approximates 75% of the total economically active population.

The 1971 census criterion for the designation of "urban" population covers all municipalities (kotamadya); all Kabupatan (regency) capitals and all desas (villages) or similar settlements with urban characteristics, such as some non-agricultural economic activities and infrastructures. According to this definition, the proportion among the total population who in 1971 were specified to be "urban" totalled 17%. Jakarta is the only fully urban area (100% urban), the next most "urban" community in terms of its rural-urban distribution is East Kalimantan, where the urban population represents 40% of the total. In all other provinces the urban-rural population distribution approximates the nationwide pattern.

One of the most striking features of Indonesia's population is its uneven distribution throughout the country. Two thirds of its entire population reside in Java; Java represents only 6.6% of the totality of the land area, but is by far the most fertile of all regions. Recent governmental efforts to promote 'transmigration' to the Outer Islands is expected over time to dilute some of the pressures which Java is burdened with, as a consequence of this demographic concentration. Currently, and for a long time to come, all of Java, most particularly its capital and some rural sections of the province are suffering from high density.

According to the 1971 statistics, the density per square kilometer was 7,944 persons in DKI Jakarta (province); it was 793 in DI Jogyakarta, and 634 in Central Java.

By contrast, the Outer Islands where intense forestation has discouraged until recently much form of settlement particularly among the Javanese, are only scarcely inhabited. The reported density levels in Sulawesi, Kalimintan, etc., are well below 100 persons per square kilometer.

# Age and Sex Distribution

As most high fertility societies, Indonesia is characterized by a youthful population: 44% of its people are under 15 years of age. Given the rural-urban distribution profile of the country it is understandable that the <u>rural</u> age structure typifies that for the total population more so than the urban.

In Table 11 the percent distribution of the total, urban and rural population is provided for each age group. The figures suggest that urban

Percent Distribution for Each Age Group:

Table 11
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS: Indonesia, 1971.

AGE			
Groups	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
(1)	16.1	35.6	16.0
0 - 4	16.1	15.6	16.2
0 <b>-</b> 4 5 - 9	15.8	14.1	16.2
10 - 14	11.9	12.3	11.9
15 - 19	9.6	11.7	9.1
20 - 24	6.8	8.6	6.4
25 - 29	7.5	7.8	7.5
30 - 34	6.7	6.7	6.7
35 - 39	6.7	.6.1	6.9
40 - 44	5.1	4.9	5.2
45 - 49	3.9	. 3.6	3.9
50 - 54	3.3	2.9	3.3
55 <b>-</b> 59	1.9	1.7	1.9
-60 <b>-</b> 64	1.9	1.6	2.1
65 - 69	<b>.9</b> .	.8	.9
70 - 74	.9	.7	.9
75 +	.7	.6	.7
T.T./NOT STATED	.01	. 07	.0
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: 1971 Census of Indonesia. Central Bureau of Statistics. Republic of Indonesia. D. Table 02, pp. 5-7.

areas contain a slightly heavier representation of persons aged 10-24 (32.7%) than do rural zones (27%); this could of course be a function of selective migration factors; city migrants are young. Conversely rural areas carry a slightly heavier representation of persons aged 40 and over as compared to the urban. This could be caused by return-migration moves, or residential stability patterns among the rural inhabitants who have reached mid age and above.

Women comprise 51% of the total population and sex ratios tend to be even in urban areas. In rural areas, there are 97 males for each 100 females.

When analyzed by specific age groups, the sex distribution within rural age categories points to a high female ratio among the 20-34 age groups (Table 12). In urban areas this discrepancy is not apparent. There is sufficient indication of internal rural-urban migratory patterns among Indonesian males between ages 20 to 34 and subsequent return-migration for males after age 40 which would explain why male scarcity (78-86 males per 100 females) emerges among rural age groups 20-34 and then evens out after age 35. However, one would have as a consequence expected a much higher male sex ratio in urban areas than that which is reported. It has been suggested that males reside in cities without registration and thus are not enumerated.

In general, the excess of females as compared to males is more predominant in West Central and East Java and in Sulawesi. Males outnumber-women in the 20 to 34 age groups in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Jakarta (Table 13).

Demographers working with survey data have questioned the accuracy of age statements as recorded in the official census. Survey studies have indicated that respondents aged 15 and over when giving age statements about themselves or others, show a definite preference to cite ages ending in "O" and in "5". This is most particularly true with respect to age misstatements given by or about women. There is another closely related factor to explain why age misstatements seem to be more frequent regarding women. Apparently married women and girls who have reached puberty, usually have their ages pushed up by the enumerator; while those who are single, have not reached puberty, or have only few children, have their ages "pushed down". In either case the misstatement is reflected in ages recorded in round numbers.

Table 12
SEX RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Age Group	Rural	Urban	Rural and Urban
0-4	101	103	101
5-9	103	103	. 103
10-14	109	102 .	108
15-19	97	98	97
20-24	78	96	81
25-29	78	94	80
30-34	86	98	88
35-39	99	94	98
40-44	100	106	101
45-49	110	108	109
50+	95	92	95
TOTAL	97	99	97

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census. Central Bureau of Statistics. Republic of Indonesia. D. Table 02, pp. 5-7.

Table 13

Males per 100 Females: Selected Age Groups. Regions of Indonesia.
Census 1971. (Serie C)

	Age Group						
Region	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 29	30 - 34			
Jakarta	92.4	95.1	103.5	116.3			
West Java	93.3	67.9	75.9	84.5			
Central Java	99.1	88.4	72.4	76.0			
Yogyakarta	104.7	90.8	76.1	84.0			
East Java	103.9	76.3	80.3	80.6			
Java and Madura	98.8	78.7	78.2	81.9			
Sumatra	97.2	86.2	83.1	108.4			
Kalimantan	97.8	80.2	87.5	108.4			
Sulawesi	94.0	76.8	79.4	93.6			
Other Islands	100.4	90.1	94.7	100.7			
Indonesia	98.2	80.7	80.5	86.6			

As cited in McDonald, 1973, p. 33, Table B.

It is believed that males are under enumerated in Jakarta, because 2 they reside in the city without registration. This fact would explain some of the low male ratios in urban areas mentioned in Table 12, but not the ratios reported for Jakarta in Table 13, which are in favor of males 30-34, unless this ratio is itself an underenumeration.

The 1971 census also appears to have undercounted births, when compared to the 1960 census data. Some suggest that this is due to the fact that older women, particularly the rural ones, tend to forget the number of thildren they have borne.

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## Fertility Trends

Indonesia is a high fertility society. Most recent estimates based upon the 1965-1971 year period, place the crude birth rates for the entire country at 43/1000. Previous estimates covering the intercensal decade (1961-1971) report a corresponding rate of 44/1000. Even this slight decline is suspect and is considered by some unreliable due to age misstatement in pregnancy histories and under registration of very young children.

The total fertility rate for the country and which is estimated on the basis of retrospective data from 1961-1970 was reported at 5.6. Based on 1965-1971 figures, the total fertility rate is estimated at 5.9.

There are significant fertility differentials by province and island. Table 14 summarizes these differences by way of compiling the most recent information available on fertility trends in Indonesia. These sources cover different time spans and different geographical areas.\* Certain caution must thus be exercised in evaluating the accuracy level of the changes in fertility hereby reported over the 1961-1970, 1965-1971 and 1976 year periods, since there is no strict comparability between the three data sets.

On the basis of the crude birth rate reported by these sources,
West Java and the islands have the highest fertility levels; Yogyakarta
and East Java, indicate lowest fertility (Table 14). The reported declines

\*The sources in question are: Estimates based on the 1960-1971 Census data which are nationwide and note urban and rural distinctions; Fertility Mortality Survey based on data for 1965-1971 from a sample drawn from 86% of the urban/rural population residing in Java (excluding Jakarta), Sumatra, Sulawesi and Bali; the 1976 Java-Bali Fertility Survey (based on 1976 estimates) surveyed 66% of the population of the two islands and does not make urban/rural distinction.

Table 14 Fertility Levels for Selected Areas in Indonesia: 1961-1976.

	CRUE	CRUDE BIRTH RATES			TOTAL FERTILITY RATES		
Province/Islands	1 1961-1970	2 1965-1971	3 1976	1 1961-1970	2 1965-1971	3 1976	
All Indonesia Provinces	<u>44</u>	<u>43</u>	N.A.	<u>5.6</u>	<u>5.9</u>	N.A.	
West Java	44	48	42	5.8	6.6	5.3	
Central Java	42	38*	35	5.4	5.3*	4.4	
East Java	40	38	32	4.7	5.0	3.9	
Jakarta	N.A.	N.A.	43	5.1	N.A.	4.5	
Yogyakarta	37	N.A.	31	5.0	N.A.	4.4	
Bali	N.A.	41	29	5.7	5.9	3.8	
Outer Islands	<u>48</u>	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.		
Sumatra	49	47	N.A.	6.5	7.1	_	
Suwalesi	47	46	N.A.	5.9	6.4	-	
Kalimantan	47	_	N.A.	5.8	N.A.	-	
Java-Madura	N.A.	41	N.A.	5.2	5.5	-	

Sources: McNicoll and Mamas, Table A5, p. 45. Mc Donald et al 1976, p. Viii.

Sinquefield and Bambang 1977, Table 4.

The 1976 CBR estimates cited here use 1976 estimates of ASFR and 1971 Census estimates of proportion currently married to generate ASFR's, assuming constant marriage patterns, and changing fertility.

<sup>\*</sup>Includes Yogyakarta.

in the crude birth rates of Yogyakarta and Bali between 1961 and 1976 are indeed impressive. In the case of Bali the birth rates declined between 1965-1976 from 41 to 29/1000. The drop is so dramatic it calls for further investigation as to its causes. Between 1961 and 1976

Yogyakarta also witnessed considerable decline in its crude birth rates, from 37 to 31/1000.

According to the Cho Study which is based on 1961-1970 intercensal data, the total fertility rate proved to be at its highest peak in Sumatra (6.5) and at its lowest peak in East Java (4.7). The island of Java with an overall total fertility rate of 5.2 has a significantly lower fertility than the other islands. Looking at the 1976 estimated figures we can trace a pattern of declining fertility in Java, Bali and Yogyakarta. It has been estimated that the Java-Bali decline is equivalent to a 15% reduction in the total fertility rate and an 11% drop in the crude birth rates. Unfortunately, we do not have comparable 1976 data to trace changes occurring in the other islands.

There is fertility data available for the 1961-1970 intercensal period which is classified by urban-rural residence. In the entire country, there is no substantial difference between urban and rural fertility rates (5.1 vs. 5.7). The data provided points to a slightly higher fertility in urban as compared to rural Java; conversely, in Sumatra and Sulawesi, rural fertility rates are considerably higher than urban ones. When data is classified by residence, the highest fertility rate recorded is for urban West Java (7.1) and for rural Sumatra (7.6).

Urban areas in Indonesia do not consistently emerge with lower fertility patterns when compared to the rural. One may question why specifically in West Java, the urban rates are higher. Suggestions have been made to the effect that urban conditions in that province are not structurally conducive to lowering fertility insofar as women are concerned. It is true that women in urban Java are more educated than in other parts of Indonesia. Yet they have few opportunities to find employment in cities despite the educational advantage. In Jakarta, the female economic activity rate is only 8%. If, as is stated later in this paper, female employment outside the home in urban Indonesia seems to be slightly associated with fertility reduction, then it may be that an urban environment and a high educational level in and by themselves are not conducive to lowering fertility in the absence of other factors, such as female employment.

Among all Indonesian females it is the women of Sumatra and Sulawesi who bear the most children. For women aged 45-49, the average parity is 6.0; it is slightly higher in urban Sumatra (6.6) and rural Sulawesi (6.3). West Java women bear an average of five children. A glance at the age-specific fertility rates indicates that in these three areas as well as in Bali, women continue in considerable number to bear children until they are in their late thirties. This is particularly true of rural women in Sumatra and Sulawesi for whom age-specific fertility rates continue to be quite high for the 35 to 39 age groups.

By contrast, women in East and Central Java bear the least number of children. Completed fertility in these parts ranges between 3.9 and 4.8 children.

# <u>Mortality</u>

Mortality conditions are very unfavorable in Indonesia. The general mortality rates are high and reflect in large part sharp infant and maternal mortality rates. The crude death rate has been estimated at 17/1000 in rural Indonesia and 15/1000 in urban regions. Some demographers consider this to be an optimistic figure. More recent estimates derived from 1971 census data place the actual incidence of mortality at 20/1000.

Table 15 provides a sex breakdown for infant mortality and implied life expectation by urban-rural residence and province. Infant mortality has obviously remained a persistent problem in the country. The Java-Madura, Sulawesi and Other Island statistics show that infantile deaths in those regions are the highest as compared to other parts of the country. Yet these averages can obscure the reality of more acute conditions. In 1971, for example, rural sections of West Java were recording a peak infant mortality rate of 180/1000 for males and 154 for females.

There have been declines in Indonesia's mortality rates between the 1950's and 1960's -- some estimates state these declines to be as high as 6 30%. A compilation of mortality statistics from various sources indicate that the most successful strides in this respect have been achieved between 1965 and 1974 in Central Java and Jakarta. Between 1960-1965 and 1970-74 the percentage decline in the infant mortality rates in these two regions is estimated at 21% and 17%, respectively (Table 16).

Table 15

Estimates of Infant Mortality Rates and Implied Life Expectation at Birth by Province

		Infant Mortality		Implied Life E	Implied Life Expectation		
		Male	Female	Male	Female		
	Rural	.1618	.1374	43.56	46.50		
INDONESIA	Urban	.1232	.1043	49.79	52.75		
	Rural/Urb	.1522	.1289	45.00	48.00		
	Rural	.1491	.1262	45.48	48.50		
SUMATRA	Urban	.1179	.0994	50.69	53.75		
	Rural/Urb	.1430	.1208	46.55	49.50		
JAVA -	Rural	.1650	.1403	43.08	46.00		
MADURA	Urban	.1259	.1067	49.33	52.25		
	Rural/Urb	.1554	.1317	44.52	47.50		
	Rural	.1538	.1303	44.76	47.75		
KALIMANTAN	Urban	.1219	.1030	50.01	53.00		
	Rural/Urb	.1476	.1248	45.73	48.75		
	Rural	.1618	.1374	43.56	46.50		
SULAWESI	Urban	.1330	.1133	48.16	51.00		
	Rural/Urb	.1554	.1317	44.52	47.50		
OTHER ISLANDS	Rural	.1650	.1403	43.08	46.00		
	Urban	.1272	.1080	49.11	52.00		
	Rural/Urb	.1570	.1331	44.28	47.25		

Figures taken from Cho et al 1976: Tb. 8.1, p. 62.

Table 16

Estimates of Infant Mortality Rates per 1000 Live Births for Provinces of Java and Bali: 1971 Census, 1973 Fertility Mortality Survey, 1976 Java-Bali Fertility Survey.

				3	
Region			1976 JI	BF Survey	% Change
		•	19 <b>65</b> -69	1970-74	196 <b>5</b> -69:1970-74
West Java	159	2 162	104	102	- 2%
Jakarta 4	125	(NA)	77	64	-17%
Central Java	147	140	96	76	-21%
Yogyakarta	147	(NA)	85	84	- 1%
East Java	134	119	105	98	- 7%
Bali	132	133	121	110	- 9%
Total	144				

Cho et al 1976:62. (1971 Census)

McDonald et al 1976: 68. (1973 Fertility Mortality Survey)

Uses data on live births and infant and child deaths from pregnancy histories.

Estimates from 1973 Fertility Mortality Survey include Yogyakarta.

Source: Sinquefield & Bambang, Tb. 6.

Child mortality rates, referring to the proportion of children dying under age five per thousand live-births, are also high. Though the two data sets are not strictly comparable, both the 1971 census and results obtained for 1945-1967 by the 1973 Fertility Mortality Survey, show child mortality incidence to be highest in West Java (240/1000) and Central Java (210/1000), and lowest in Jakarta (187/1000) and Bali (196/1000). Not all these statistics can claim complete accuracy. Nevertheless it is safe to state that since 1945 reduction in child mortality has taken place, more successfully in some regions than in others.

There may be more accuracy attached to the life expectancy data. This has now been estimated at 45 years for Indonesian men and 48 for Indonesian women. The urban woman has an average life span of 53 years; the rural woman, 47 years. In both cases maternal mortality reduce her chances for survival. In both urban and rural areas, women outlive their male counterparts by three years (see table 15).

# Women's Education and Employment in Relation to Fertility

Let us turn now to examine more closely some of the demographic data which might reveal more about the fertility behavior of women in Indonesia.

Earlier we have discussed fertility differentials by geographical areas. Is woman's reproductive behavior in any way associated with specific characteristics among the female population? The Indonesian data in this report is scarce and, when available, somewhat nebulous. Specific fertility, determinants are difficult to identify. The data do suggest certain associations which need further verification.

Women's religious affiliation appears to be one of the more clear-cut determinants of fertility. Protestant women consistently report the highest number of live births (6.2) followed by other Christian women (5.7), by Budhist women (5.6) and by Catholics (5.4). Muslim women consistently have the lowest parity (4.9).

Other sources of information obtained through intensive surveys in Jakarta suggest a different interpretation. Fertility differentials are explained ethnically rather than religiously. Specifically, it is suggested by one particular study that lower-middle and middle class Indonesian women of Chinese descent have fewer children than indigenous Indonesian g women. A similar association between the ethnic, class and fertility variables was found to prevail in Surabaya among a sample of young adult cohorts.

Evidence concerning the influence of women's educational status upon the number of children she bears is nebulous; in some instances it is contradictory. When broad comparisons are made between population groups in provinces and islands the educational factor appears to be irrelevant. Intensive interviewing within the specific setting of an "advanced" village in Yogyakarta, on the other hand, showed the educational factor to be important in explaining differences in reproductive behavior.

If one analyzes the census data which classifies the ever-married female population by age, educational attainment and average number of

children living, one finds that lower fertility emerges only among those women who have reached the higher levels of secondary education and above. This obviously points to a rather small and select group of the highly educated women in urban Indonesia.

Taken at face value, both census data and survey results indicate that uneducated women had fewer children than women who had received schooling equivalent to a junior high school level.

The reported average number of children living for ever-married women by educational status reads as follows:

No schooling	2.9	
Primary level		
Junior High School		
Senior High School	2.2	
Vocational Junior High School	3.2	
Vocational Senior High School	2.4	
Academy	1.9	
University	1.8	

The urban woman's reproductive behavior follows pretty closely the pattern for the entire country, with two exceptions. Urban women who have completed elementary school report an average of 3.1 living children; those with vocational junior high school report 3.5. The 'apparent' higher fertility of the vocational junior high school-level group is maintained even when age group 45-49 is singled out.

Demographers involved in the 1973 Fertility-Mortality Survey have challenged these overall results. They argue that it is not true that uneducated women in Indonesia have <u>fewer</u> children than the educated: rather that they tend to underreport the actual number of children born due 14 to memory lapse. If such an explanation is in any way plausible, it would correct for the parity reported for the women with "no schooling" only. Assuming infant/child mortality to be constant, a "memory lapse" would not explain why women at the primary level report the same average number of living children than those who have reached senior high school level, nor why it is consistently that segment of the female population at the vocational junior high school level who has highest parity.

It has been suggested that the educational factor in and by itself will not affect woman's childbearing activities, that it is women's employment that is a much stronger correlate of lower fertility. To what extent is such an hypothesis applicable to Indonesia?

Table 17 classifies on the basis of the 1971 census data, ever-married women by type of economic activity, average number of children born alive and average number of children living. For the country as a whole the aggregate data do not clearly bear out the contention that women's involvement in economic activity is associated with lower fertility measured both by number of children born alive and number currently living. The average number of children born by mothers who are employed (3.6) is the same for mothers classified in "housekeeping" activity (3.8). The suggestion of a possible inverse relationship between employment and number of

"living children" does emerge with respect to urban women. Urban women who are employed report an average of 2.4 living children; those who are housewives have 3.2 living children. This relationship, though not in any way striking, is important enough to warrant further intensive research.

Studies using interviewing technique and carried out among lower and middle class women in Jakarta, assert that female employment outside the home is definitely associated with lower fertility.

Table 17

Ever-Married Women by Type of Activity,
Average Number of Children Born Alive and
Average Number of Children Living

Average No. of Children

Type of Activity		Born Alive	Living
Economically Active	Total	3.6	2.6
	Urban	3.5	2.4
	Rural	3.6	2.7
Employed	Total	3.6	2.6
	Urban	3.2	2.4
	Rural	3.6	2.7
Seeking Work	Total	3.5	2.7
	Urban	3.4	2.7
	Rural	3.5	2.6
Housekeeping	Total	3.8	2.9
	Urban	3.9	3.2
	Rural	3.8	2.9

Source: 1971 Indonesian Census D, Table 31, pp 145-55.

## Ma<u>rital</u> Patterns

In what way does demographic data provide insight into marital patterns and family structure in Indonesia?

Indonesia is characterized by the universality of marriage. In the entire country only two women among every 100 do not arrive at the alter by the time they reach the end of their reproductive years (45-49). The highest proportion of "single" women in any one region (5%) are in Bali; the next largest group is in Sulawesi. In general, the unmarried female 16 is more likely to reside in urban settings.

The highest percentage of women who are in intact unions is found in the 30-34 age group; after age 35, the percentage 'married' slowly declines in the female population either because of widowhood or divorce.

The incidence of widowhood has declined partly because of changing male mortality rates; conceivably by a lower age difference between spouses. The current marriage pattern indicates a 4 to 5 year age difference between partners. The sex discrepancy between the percentage who are widowed suggests higher remarriage rates among widowers. In the total population of 1971, 13.2% of all women were widowed as compared to only 2.6% of all men.

Indonesia is noted for its high divorce rate. This is not only a function of a very high marriage rate, but because the incidence of legal separation is frequent. In the country as a whole the divorce ratio in relation to every 100 marriages (and reconciliations) was 34% in 1970, since then it has dropped to 27% in 1974. Divorce ratios are highest in West Java (34%) and East Java (28%); they are lowest in South Sumatra (9%) and Lumpung (7%).

## Age at Marriage

There are strong indications that in highly urban areas women are marrying at a slightly older age (one to one and a half years older) than a. few years ago. Nuptiality age has not however increased in the rural areas. Generally, the average age at a woman's first marriage varies from one part of the country to the other. The youngest age is 17.2 and is typical of rural West Java, rural Jambi and rural Lampung. Girls marry later in urban Yogyakarta, in urban North Sumatra and urban North Sulawesi. There the typical bride is 23.5 years old.

Do differences in nuptial age denote certain variations in women's reproductive behavior, as is indicated by the experience of other countries? Apparently not, when fertility data is analyzed in the aggregate. In the Outer Islands women marry later than they do in Java, yet the fertility 17 in the islands is much higher. Women, both in Sulawesi and in Bali, marry between ages 22 and 23; yet both areas are characterized by extreme differences in fertility rates (Sulawesi, among the highest, Bali-the lowest). Conversely, both East and West Java are noted for their early marriage patterns - yet in terms of fertility, the western region ranks among the high fertility areas, the eastern region by contrast has a low 18 fertility level.

Obviously comparisons at this aggregate level will obscure any possible relationship between the two variables unless it is manifested at a large-scale. Smaller scale surveys using an intensive interviewing technique are needed to establish in a more systematic way why nuptiality age is later in certain areas than in others, and what are some of the correlates of a delayed age at first marriage insofar as women are concerned.

The high incidence of divorce in all parts of Java is confirmed by data provided by the Fertility-Mortality Survey (1973). In a table which provides current marital distribution of women aged 15-49 after at least 15 years had transpired since their first marriage, the category who are currently divorced is highest in West Java, followed by East and 19 Central Java; it is lowest in North and South Sulawesi and in Bali. It is too simplistic to contend that heavy concentration of Muslims in Java explain the higher incidence of legal dissolution in that area. Other factors - not the least of which might be economic ones - may intervene to accelerate divorce. Poverty exacerbates the problem of family instability, and the break-up of a family unit through divorce or 20 desertion often is one way of "solving" extreme economic problems.

Women who are must vulnerable to divorce are those who are Muslims, and those who are the least educated. The chances that a rural woman is more prone to be divorced as compared to an urbanite are slight. A glance at sex differences in marital status show a higher percentage of divorced women (3.7%) as compared to divorced men (1.3%) which suggests that there are slightly less chances for a divorcee's remarriage. In general, however, remarriage rates among divorced women in Indonesia are high.

The effect of frequent divorce upon fertility levels in Indonesia has not been systematically studied. In general marital instability reduces fertility because of lengthier birth intervals. A decrease in the divorce rates might conceivably spur higher fertility. On the other hand, if divorce is followed by high and frequent remarriage, there is likely to be strong motivation to start a new fertility cycle in the more recent marriage situation.

Polygamy in Indonesia has been on the decrease. At present close 21 to 5% of all unions are polygamous. Women in Sulawesi, Sumatra and Bali are the most likely to find themselves in a polygamous situation.

## Family Headship and Household Composition

The average household in Indonesia consists of five people. The household size is larger in the Outer Islands as compared to Java. In general urban households throughout the country are about 10% larger in size compared to rural households. This is probably because of urban 22 housing shortages which require considerable doubling up.

Information available on household composition points to the presence of nonnuclear family members and servants in urban settings, as compared to rural households. The presence of other members reflects patterns of residence adjusted to the need to facilitate extension of higher education to outside family members.

The Indonesian census provides several tabulations on family headship broken down by sex. The percentage who are women among all household heads is 16%. This figure probably represents an undercount of women functioning as de facto family heads, since any adult male residing in the household is automatically designated as "head", given the nebulous definition of the term in the census. Urban households are in 14% of all cases headed by women as compared to rural ones where female family headship?

applies in 17% of all cases. Table 18 provides a marital status breakdown for female heads of household by urban-rural residence. As would be expected, 70% of all female heads of household are widowed. The next largest category, 16%, are married. Unfortunately it is not possible to trace the extent to which the designation of married women as heads of household is explainable by membership in matrilineal clans, results from a polygamous situation or is caused by male migration. It is known that 60% of all male city migrants leave their wives behind.

Table 18

	Marital Status of Female Heads of Household			
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed
Urban	5%	23%	11%	61%
Rural	1%	15%	13%	71%
Urban & Rural	2%	16%	12%	70%

Computations based on 1971 Census, D, Tb. 07, pp. 39-41.

## Women and Migration

Indonesia has always experienced a great deal of internal migratory movement. Historically, and until very recently, the patterns were directed at large scale rural-urban moves towards Java, more specifically Jakarta. Recently, the government has promoted its policy of 'transmigration' which encourages "outward" migration towards the Outer Islands.

Not much has been published regarding the consequences of transmigratory moves insofar as these households have had impacts upon men, women and families. There is general nationwide data on overall migration. The age and sex profile of the city migrant allows us to single out some factors which might tell us something regarding how the process of migration is affecting women, and which are the categories of women who are most specifically affected.

There appear to be three major groups of women who are being directly or indirectly affected by migration. On the one hand there is a young, single female group of migrants, in their late teens who come to cities in search of work. The profile specifies, for example, that the average age of female migrants ranges between 15 to 19 and that one in every two is single. Males, on the other hand, are slightly older; the average age ranges between 19 and 24; and 60% are single. Compared to males, young women migrate—shorter distances to cities; it is also conceivable that among the "single" group, less females than males will migrate to the city to pursue their education. There is no hard data to substantiate this claim.

A second group of women are those who migrate as members of a transmigrant or spontaneous migrant family. "Family dependency" accounts for 48% of all permanent migrants. "Marriage" migration involves women beyond their teens and is mostly directed towards Lampung. Most of the Indonesians who are involved in "family migration" originate from West, Central, East Java and from Bali.

Women tend to become permanent migrants in larger proportions than men. Since family dependency accounts for only 48% of all permanent migration, one may assume that non-married women who migrate also do so on a permanent basis.

The third group of women who are affected by migration are the older women who are left behind in the village when their husbands migrate to the city. Though the average age for male migrants ranges between 19 and 24, there are some who are older and not single. In fact, 40% of the total male migrants were found to have been married. Amongst these, 60% leave their spouses in the village. The greater tendency among males (as compared to females) to be "temporary migrants" may be explained by the presence of the married male who moves to the city alone and plans to eventually return to his family.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

### Chapter 3

- 1 Iskandar, 1976:2.
- 2 McDonald, 1972: 71; 1973:31.
- 3 McDonald, 1972: 69-76; McDonald, et al., 1976:VIII, 21-22.
- 4 Ibid: 22-23.
- 5 Iskandar, 1976:34.
- 6 McNicoll and Mamas, 1973:14.
- 7 McDonald, 1976, Table E, p. 8.
- 8 Iskandar, 1976:41.
- 9 Papanek, et al., 1976 a: 167.
- 10 Partoko and Astul: Indroes, 1974: 21-23.
- 11 Oey and Sigit, 1977: 47-83; McDonald, et al., 1976: 7; Chapon; 1976: 55-56.
- 12 Hull, 1975.
- 13 Central Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census, D, Tb. 29; V. Hull, 1975; Singarimbun and Manning, 1974.
- 14 McDonald, et al., 1976: 7.
- 15 Papanek, et al., 1976: 23.
- 16 Muliakusama, 1976: 11.
- 17 Ibid: 101-103.
- 18 Al Hadar, 1977: 45-62.
- 19 Ibid: 65.
- 20 Papanek, H. 1976, in Tinker and Bo Bramsen, eds.: 66.
- 21 Muliakusama, 1976: 46-50.
- 22 Sundrum, 1973: 87-88.

#### CHAPTER 4. THE EFFECTS OF MODERNIZATION

(Editor's Note: Much of what is presented in this section is impressionistic, based on the perceptions of the author during her fivemonth visit to Indonesia, August - December 1977. During that time, she travelled extensively throughout Java, Bali and Sumatra. In the course of that trip they interviewed many knowledgeable researchers, both Indonesian and foreign, and spoke with women's leaders. Some of the information they gathered on that trip is based upon the research of those interviewed, and where that is the case, it is footnoted as to its source. However, much of the information is based on the observations of the people who were interviewed as well as on the observations of the author, Sections which are based on such perceptions are marked with the footnote symbol 7. Therefore, the reader is urged to keep in mind that not all of the information contained in this section is a matter of empirically derived fact. The purpose of this section is to provide a sense of the flow of change in Indonesia and to discuss the apparent effects that change is having on women, in particular.)

### Effects on Elite Women

Modernization is a complex process involving several phenomena which occur sequentially as well as simultaneously. It is associated with emancipation, equity, mobility, increased knowledge, convenience, enjoyment, and dynamic power. Elite women in both rural and urban areas have been affected by modernization in several ways. On the one hand, their mobility, material comforts, legal safeguards, educational and professional opportunities have been improved since independence. On the other hand, their

power relative to men appears to be diminishing. For example, the percentage of women in the highest echelons of government has declined since the 1960s, as has the ratio of women to men in positions of political leadership. Women's rate of achieving executive positions in the civil service, in academia, and in private enterprise has improved, but not accelerated markedly, although their ownership of enterprises, employment in the civil service, and participation in the labor force has. However, the low wages women receive for their labor, in relation to men's, do not make increased labor force participation a useful measure of progress at the present time. Women have also made greater gains in education than men since 1961. However, educated women are more underutilized than educated men in regard to hours available for work, and income earned in relation to education. Women also suffer higher levels of unemployment as they go up the educational scale.

Elite women also reflect the changing values which modernization and national development have introduced. "International," or "international level" is a descriptive accolade used for facilities found in Indonesia in common with developed countries throughout the world. To be in the mainstream through sharing selected international values and standards appears to be the goal of Indonesian modernization.

Well-educated women make up the international-value oriented female elite. They either have been educated to professional level through a . senior high school, college, academy, or university education themselves, or are married to men of this educational background. They are likely to have had an opportunity for foreign travel, or through language ability have had a great deal of contact with people from abroad or read foreign publications. Their professional-level work outside the home is prestigious, since it is in line with international trends, and furthermore carries the cachet of public service since there is a shortage of well-educated per-

sonnel in many fields. Women at the university level, in particular, are more individualistic and achievement-oriented, as well.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from work, women of this level are highly involved in going to professional conferences and to women's organizations' meetings. They seem to possess boundless energy and devote almost as much time to organizational activities, meetings, seminars, as they do to their own families. Their homes reflect their social position and they own the modern furniture and appliances which reduce the need for as many servants as in the past.

While elite university-educated women support the principles of female emancipation in many respects, they do not identify with all of the concerns of the women's movement elsewhere in the world. For example, they are not concerned with having their husband share household work since they have servants or live-in relatives for these tasks. The rights of lesbians are not a concern, since if lesbianism exists in Indonesia, it is not very apparent. Crimes against women (rape, wife-beating, etc.) occur in Indonesia, seemingly with greater frequency to poor women, but the majority of elite women, whether traditionalist or internationalist, have little sense of identity with such problems. While some extraordinary women are actively concerned with the problems of poor women, the majority feel a tremendous sense of social distance from poor rural women in the remote parts of the country, and have difficulty understanding the problems of such women.

Elite women are more interested in working for causes they know about and can have some impact on, such as legal safeguards which would guarantee professional women equal compensation and fringe benefits for equal work, and equal access to executive positions. They also want women to receive and equitable share of their family's wealth in inheritance, and have equal access to credit facilities.

Implementation of a minimum wage for women workers is not a priority of most elite women's organizations. This is because the majority of elite

women work in professions where the salary discrepancy is not as great as in the case of poor laboring women. In addition, women-owned businesses profit equally from the use of low-paid female labor, and such women are not likely to jeopardize the profitability of their own businesses by agitating for higher wages for employees.

The growth of consumerism, the pervasiveness of advertising, and the influence of foreign films, television, and mass media have all had a visible effect on elite women. They have affected their style of dress, their buying patterns, and, to some extent, their aspirations. The media-projected image of an "ideal marriage" involves a nuclear family in which the husband is the bread-winner, the wife is always attractively dressed, coiffed, and supervises the running of a nicely furnished home. Young men of this class pressure their wives to stay at home for two reasons: so that their children will be raised in a modern way, meaning by an intelligent concerned mother and not by a servant, and because it makes them seem more manly, according to the international modern standard, if they alone support their wife and family.

Not all elite women subscribe to this international set of values. There is also a traditional-value elite group which is highly visible in Indonesia. The traditional image invloves living in a household which values a large family for the pleasant bustling (ramai) atmosphere it creates, and because it is an indicator of luck, affluence, and fecundity. Having many children in an elite family is like creating a loyal entourage. Ideally, a traditional elite household lives in a spacious house and compound garden. The women do not undertake manual labor, nor do they work outside of the home, since this is identified with low status. However, administrative officials, who form a large portion of the traditional elite, have always served more out of honor than for monetary remuneration. As a consequence, a status attribute of a traditional elite woman is her ability

to keep expenses down through bargaining for food and essentials, managing a large staff of low-paid largely female rural workers to carry out house-hold tasks, and, if necessary, to make products for sale from her home. A variant of this image is supplied by the devout Islamic women who have gone to Islamic schools. As they become better educated, they follow the precepts of the Islamic religion more closely in regards to sexual roles and ideal feminine behavior in the family and in society, circumspect relations between the sexes, and modesty in dress.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the elite values are filtering down to villages and urban fringe areas where changes in consumer habits and rural life-styles can be seen. Children's clothing now is being made for this market out of inexpensive synthetic materials, made up into copies of garments worn by elite urban children. Older village children are more style conscious, and an increased number of shops and market distributors cater to their modern chothing needs. Ownership of transistor radios is much greater than formerly. In one developed village in Yogyakarta, transistors were owned by 70% of the upper income residents, by 37% of those of middle income, and by 14% of the poor. Among well-off rural women there is more self-indulgence than formerly in cosmetics, clothing, jewelry, and even visits to the hairdresser.

The most harmful effect of modernization has been in the popularization of baby milk formula. Since urban elite women buy and use it, it has an image of modernity associated with convenience and improved infant nutrition. The bottle feeding of infants has heightened the possibilities of infection for infants due to the difficulty of making up hygenic portions of formula in poor households in the villages and in urban fringe areas. It can also result in malnourishment of infants since poor mothers tend to over-dilute the formula in order to make it last as song as possible.

Women are the financial managers in most households. A new phenomenon

in the rural areas is the spending of profits on western consumer goods, rather than merely for life-cycle ceremonies or on education. Villagers who are able to save money in Yogyakarta, for example, no longer do so for a gamelan gong, or a set of wayang puppets, but rather for a Honda motorcycle, Varying with economic level, such households purchase items such as radios, clocks, chairs, plastic ornaments and flowers, and formica-topped tables to furnish their homes. Such patterns of consumer behavior by the better-off rural and urban population affect the ability of poor people to earn a living, as will be seen in the discussion of the effects of modernization on the rural poor.

## Effects on Poor Rural Women

The lives of the elices just described stand in stark contrast to the lives of poor women in the rural areas. Modernization, particularly technology, which has brought such dynamic changes to Indonesian society, has had an unexpected negative impact on rural women. Technology itself is neutral. It has the same effect whether its introduction and distribution has been in response to popular demand, has been incorporated into government development programs, or has come about as a result of aggressive marketing by private enterprise. It has a differential impact on the rich and the poor, and on men and women in relation to the work they perform in a given area of the country. It can beneficially reduce the arduous aspect of labor in labor-scarce areas and increase productivity. It can have the same effect in labor-surplus areas, but at the same time it will have tragic consequences, since it can put large numbers of unskilled laborers out of work. Technology can maximize the advantages of the men or women who own the factors of production, land ownership in the rural areas is the best example, and in contrast, it can hurt the unskilled female, as well as male, landless poor. No doubt the most decisive factor in determining who gains and who does not in the introduction of technology is poverty rather than

sex, but within the poor population, it has been women who have suffered the most losses because of the role they have traditionally performed in agriculture as well as in their social responsibilities to their family. Agricultural technology, in particular, has undermined poor women's sources of income in Java and Bali, where landlessness and overpopulation are acute problems.

Rice hullers and High Yielding Varieties (HYV) of rice are a case in point. When government planners decided to finance a program of credits for the purchase and distribution of agricultural machinery in Java, import duties were reduced. This duty reduction enabled private enterprise to promote small-scale devices, many developed in Japan and West Germany, to landowners and plantation managers as well as administrators of government development programs. One of these devices, the mechanical rice huller, took away the income earned from rice pounding in Java by poor women laborers from landless families. Aside from harvest shares and wage labor, many women used to rely heavily on the in-kind shares earned through rice pounding. Generally, women pounded whatever rice they needed for their own families. However, over one-half of the hand-pounding was done by hired female laborers. 9 When large amounts of rice were needed for celebrations, women were called in to pound rice. They were paid for their work by a share of the pounded rice, usually one-tenth, or they were paid low wages. Also, when surplus rice was prepared for sale by small-scale traders, women laborers were hired to pound it and they received one-tenth of what they pounded. In such work following a harvest, it is estimated that women earned enough in in-kind shares to feed themselves for four months. 10

Previously, up to 80% of the rice was hand-pounded both for subsistence and local marketing. However, by 1973 less than 50% was hand-pounded, and some observers suggest as little as 10%. Although the small-scale mechanical mills are relatively labor-intensive as compared with large-scale mills,

They use much less labor than hand-pounding, and the labor they use is male. Women were not trained to use the hullers. <sup>12</sup> Therefore, in this instance, men benefitted from women's technological unemployment. The women could not easily find alternatives because work opportunities are so limited in the rural areas. <sup>13</sup>

A further and more drastic reduction in women's ability to earn in-kind shares and agricultural wages has come about as a result of the introduction of high yielding varieties of rice seed. Since the HYVs require higher and more costly inputs of irrigation, fertilizer, and pesticides than the older varieties, the first people to use them were the landed farmers, usually men. The HYVs require proportionately more female labor in hoeing and weeding than the older varieties, and would require more female labor in harvesting and hand-pounding due to the higher yields, but steel scythes and mechanical rice hullers were also introduced which changed the old pattern of division of labor. 14

Women reaped the old rice varieties with a bamboo knife, the <u>ani-ani</u>. Because of the weight of the stalk of the HYVs, it is more efficient to harvest with a steel scythe. The government demonstrated the scythe's use in 1972 in the rural areas in connection with showing farmers how to harvest, weigh, and thresh the HYVs. The scythe is much heavier than the <u>ani-ani</u>, and is wielded in a swinging arc. Women cannot handle it easily so men are used with increasing frequency for harvesting the HYVs. Men with scythes can cut more rice faster than women with <u>ani-ani</u>, thereby saving the farmer money.

Furthermore, as the number of landless increased, landed farmers were swamped by landless women hoping to work as reapers at harvest time who wanted to earn <u>ngrampijang</u> shares. They were not only from the farmers own villages, but from surrounding villages as well; as many as 500 women per hectare might appear. The farmers found the women difficult to super-

vise and resorted to hiring their own workers for wages and forming them into teams who went to harvest for other farmers as well. They were paid on the basis of the weight of what each reaper cut. This system left the farmer with more rice and more money, since the wages paid were low. While some harvest teams used women wielding the <u>ani-ani</u> initially, increasingly teams were formed of men who used the steel scythes. The effects of these innovations were disastrous to women since the largest part of their annual income came from harvest shares. If

A further innovation which affected women was the re-introduction of a little-used traditional custom called <u>tebasan</u> (to buy produce before it is harvested). Under this system, a <u>penebas</u> (middleman) bought up the crop before it ripened. Then when it was ready to harvest, the <u>penebas</u> brought in his own team of male reapers with steel scythes who worked for wages rather than rice shares. He might also provide for its transport to a mill or a market.

Before these innovations were introduced, women were the principal carriers of small amounts of produce to local markets. Men were carriers for long distance trade, and they carried larger amounts, two baskets on a pole or a bicycle. Most farms cultivated crops primarily for subsistence, and only a small surplus was produced. Farmers consigned their small surplus, whether of rice or other crops, or a few chickens, to these women transporters. In Bali, women carry loads even heavier than the approximately 20 kg. that women in Java carry. They might be taking their own produce to market and would sell to households along the way, but generally they were specialists who knew when surpluses would be available, of which crops, from which farmers, and to which market they should transport products in order to get the best price. The new techniques in harvesting HYVs required the bulking of rice into heavy sacks in the field, and this was too heavy for women to carry. Thereby the amount of rice which women transported to market

in the rural areas was reduced.

This loss of rural women's principal source of income, along with the displacement of men's labor through the introduction of motor-tillers, had an immediate adverse impact on women. As has been mentioned earlier, women are the financial managers of poor households, bearing primary responsibility for putting food on the table. It was women, therefore, who were more impelled to make up for lost income in any way they could.

However, their alternatives were being circumscribed by the continuing ripple effects of the new agricultural technology. Another effect of the "green revolution" in Java was to convert village relations from those of social reciprocity to more business-like dealings between the landowners and agricultural laborers. Once transport was improved, the resources of the well-off farmers enabled them to relate to a larger world where they could seek more advantageous arrangements for hiring workers, and they have done so. In addition, the competitiveness of labor in overpopulated Java has kept the wage level down. The fact that children under 15 years of age make up the largest part of the population has sustained this trend, since they are paid less.

Furthermore, due to inflation, the real value of wages paid is much less than it was formerly. <sup>18</sup> These factors have accelerated impoverishment, the selling of land to outsiders in Java, and its concentration in the hands of landowning families. The landowners use their profits to start lucrative off-farm ventures, such as buying Colts (transport vans), making themselves even wealthier, and less dependent on village gotong royong (mutual cooperation) relations than formerly, which has further limited women's ability to cope. <sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, when women are landowners, they are not set back by mechanization. In West Sumatra, the women's clans still own the land, and the effect of the introduction of the HYVs was entirely different than in

Java. In fact, women buy the costly inputs, own the rice hullers, and employ men with knives and scythes to help in the harvest. Before these developments, Minangkabau women kept control of earlier technological innovations, such as mechanical spice grinders and the water driven mills which they still own and use to grind flour. <sup>7</sup> In Aceh, as well, where women can own the rice fields, they have kept control of earlier laborsaving devices, such as mortar and pestle for rice pounding; <sup>0</sup> and now use hullers to reduce losses and produce a better quality of rice. <sup>21</sup>

Elsewhere in the Outer Islands, women are affected differently depending on whether they or their families own the land, and if there is a shortage or surplus of labor. In many areas where such shortages exist, women only work as family members, and not as off-farm laborers as they do in Java and Bali. In labor scarce areas, technological displacement of women is comparatively minimal, and they may be taught to operate tractors, as in one program in South Sulawesi.<sup>22</sup>

## Alternative Employment and Handicrafts

In Indonesia individuals have great freedom in the economic field.

Modern organizational techniques and technology have been utilized to increase productivity and maximize profits, yet the traditional evaluation of the worth of labor has been relied on simultaneously, resulting in the continuance of low wages, or low rates of compensation for piece-work, as well as in labor displacement. In other words, while modernization in all aspects of production is accepted, labor is treated, and remunerated, in a traditional manner. In general, skilled labor of both sexes, better educated and more aware of their own worth, are able to command higher wages. Needless to say, poor, uneducated women are relegated to unskilled laboring tasks more than men, and they do not earn as much as men because their category of work is not regarded as being as important or as arduous. Therefore, they are the ones who lose most through modern technology and low wages.

In addition, unskilled women are paid less than men in agriculture for the same work<sup>23</sup>, and the same situation prevails in industry, where the category of work for the largest number of female employees always is the lowest paid, generally on a piece-work more often than wage basis.<sup>24</sup>

This pattern persists in relatively new handicraft industries in which women are employed. The leather industry is a growing one, making westernstyle handbags, shoes, and luggage. It has been growing at the rate of 53% per year. In the shoe industry, producers make only an 11% profit, which can be reduced considerably by the interest payments to middlemen who supply the raw materials. On the other hand, merchants might enjoy a profit of 150% above productive costs.<sup>25</sup> A similar situation prevails in almost every industry in which women are employed, as in the export-oriented and domestic garment industry, batik workshops, and the manufacture of kretek (clove cigarettes). Wages or compensation to the workers who produce items is very low, while the profits go to those who organize production through procuring raw materials, as well as to the labor recruiter/managers (mandurs). wholesalers, and retailers. In some cases, all of these individuals are part of one vertically organized enterprise, and profits are disproportionately high. This situation prevails even in elite modern industries such as electronics and pharmaceutical production, which employ large numbers of women. Around Jakarta, young women can be paid as little as Rp.350 per day (U.S. \$1 = Rp.413) by a modern factory, of which Rp. 150 will be deducted for food provided on the premises, Rp. 100 must be used for transport, leaving the worker Rp. 100 per day for her labor.

A second stage of this process has a devastating effect on poor, rural self-employed women who earn some of their family income through cottage industry production as well as through the growing of food, and by farm labor. Because elite women are influenced by international consumerist fashions, their cash, above household maintenance needs, is spent on foreign-

made material goods and imported luxuries. There is little filtering down of profits made at the top. Less and less do the Indonesian poor fabricate the consumer goods out of local materials which the well-off members of society consume and buy. In spite of this, rural women continue to be taught by government programs and women's organizations to make handicrafts items which have little or no domestic market. Ironically, this is happening even in the food sector where an increasing array of imported convenience foods, and even fresh fruits and vegetables are bought by the urban elite at shops and supermarkets, instead of at traditional markets. In line with this trend, locally produced foods and condiments, previously made by women in the homes, are being transformed into factoryprepared foods, notably into dried powders, packaged and tinned foods, requiring less labor to prepare than formerly. Even agar-agar has been converted into a gelatine powder. In addition, trade name bottled soft drinks are making inroads into the market for traditional thirst quenchers made from fruit syrups, many of which are still made by women, but an increasing amount are now bottled by medium and large-scale industry. The food industry which seems to be growing and which still uses much female labor is the palm sugar industry, but it provides small returns to the producer. 26

Other changes which will adversely affect poor women's independent sources of income still are more subtle, perhaps unacknowledged. <u>Jamu</u> (a herbal tonic) has been converted into packaged powders and pills which are sold across the counter. While the fashion for drinking <u>jamu</u> apparently has expanded to the extent that the bottled variety is still popular as well, it appears that as concern for hygiene and convenience is heightened, the popularity of the bottled variety may wane, particularly in urban areas, putting the peripatetic women jamu sellers out of business.

Kretek cigarette manufacture, as has been mentioned, is one of the largest employers of women and may employ rural women who walk up to 10 km

from their homes to the factory every day. Even these small factories are giving way to large-scale manufacturers and this source of income, while never enviable in terms of wages or working conditions, is shrinking as well.

Textile manufacture has undermined the vitality of two other traditional enterprises, handloom-weaving and batik-making; both equally notable for low rates of pay and for work in cramped quarters. In many areas, there are now few handloom enterprises left. <sup>26</sup> In addition, many small-scale batik ateliers have been closed down in Yogyakarta and Central Java, leaving the field to the larger, more integrated firms with their own shops and exporting channels. Screen-printing and machine roller printing of batiks, both of which use men, have helped to bring this about. In addition, women's preference for wearing dresses made of cheaper machine-made fabrics instead of the traditional costume, the kain, or wrapper of batik and the overblouse, the kebaya, has accelerated this development. Even in the villages there is a growing appreciation of the non-iron synthetic fabrics. For all these reasons, hand-woven and hand-drawn batiks, made by women, are declining in output. Much of the production is now oriented towards export, luxury, and tourist markets.

Other changes in the traditional cottage industry market are apparent as well. The preference for plastic products have reduced the market for goods made from natural materials. Pottery and other items made from clay are being replaced by manufactured products.

Since the poorest women have lost, or are in the process of losing, so many traditional sources of income, they are turning to new fields and intensifying their participation in certain older fields. There is the mistaken notion that women displaced from arduous labor have upgraded themselves into less demanding work, but poor women often have to resort to underpaid, often heavier, unskilled work in another field. In Bali

women have turned in greater numbers to carrying stones and cement for road building and other construction work. They also continue to construct the exteriors of modern buildings, paint and plaster the interiors, and lay tiles and cement floors. Women in Java work at similar jobs. It appears that women comprise from 15% to 30% of workers on certain construction sites. In Medan, women have become street-sweepers.

Plantation work is another source of employment for Sundanese and Javanese women close to the tea, coffee, and tobacco estates in Java and Sumatra. Even the poor women of conservative populations such as the Madurese, work in the coffee plantations in East Java, and the needy women of populations which are highly educated, such as the Minangkabau, who shun domestic service, work in the cinnamon plantations in West Sumatra.

Other sources of employment for women are in the new fisheries industries, packaging and labeling industries, and in the formation of cooperatives for selling <u>jamu</u>, vegetable produce, and other products. The tourist industry also offers some work in the larger cities, in hotels and rooming houses, as well as in the Bali beach areas. The making of ready-to-wear, or custom tailored clothing is also a field in which women are finding employment.

Poor women who have not the wherewithal to engage in commerce find that domestic service and prostitution are among the few remaining alternatives. Both occupations can be filled by adults, but it would appear that a majority of servants and prostitutes are very young girls from the rural areas, many under 14 years of age. Generally, both kinds of work are found after migration to urban areas. The majority of women in this category are Javanese, particularly from Central and East Java where there is more poverty than in other areas. Of the two, domestic service is the lowest paying but the most honorable from a conventional moral point of view. It offers some of the hardest work and undesireable conditions as well.

Prostitution has been enhanced in the last decade by several factors: large cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and Ujung Pandang, have allowed bars, massage parlors, and gambling establishments to flourish so that taxes from these businesses will finance civic maintenance and improvements. These spots are patronized not only by Indonesian men, but by the large numbers of foreign contract personnel working in the raw materials extraction, petroleum, liquified natural gas, forestry, and mining industries.

Prostitution seems to be a growing business which frequently victimizes the young girls who migrate into the cities and unknowingly come under the control of a labor contractor who entices or forces them into becoming prostitutes. Many young women, of course, seek work as a prostitute out of sheer necessity, and remain in it because they are ashamed to return home afterwards. Also, prostitutes can earn as much, or even more, than a school teacher. 27

# Response to Women's Employment Problems

An impressive, yet bewildering array of programs, some with overlapping concerns, are aimed at helping rural women. They are sponsored by various departments and services of government, most notably the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Health; by the Indonesian Family Planning Program (BKKBN); by the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association; by women's organizations; and by voluntary agencies. They are largely concerned with the abolition of illiteracy, the promotion of family planning, hygiene, nutrition, skill training, establishment of cooperatives, and enhanced credit options, such as the new program, Chandak Kulak, which makes small-scale loans (Rp. 20,000 to 30,000) which women traders can utilize. However, a large proportion of the courses taught by women's organizations are concerned with teaching morality and home economics. In the latter courses,

the woman's role is conceived of principally as one of homemaker. Essentially, the thrust of many programs is to activate poor families through teaching moral values and middle-class graces such as needlework, personal grooming, and home making arts. While these skills enhance the quality of life for some women with leisure time, they do not provide much income on a regular basis. A few organizations teach typing, sewing, dressmaking, soap-making, catering, and baking. The best programs are linked to abolishing illiteracy, establishing clinics for the poor, giving lectures on nutrition and hygiene, providing skill training in terms of local income needs and employment opportunities, and even making a grant of a small amount of capital for the start of an enterprise.

The programs of government, reaching down to the villages, of the women agricultural extension workers' lectures to the <u>kontac tani</u> (contact farmers), and of the voluntary agencies, also appear to devote a disproportionate amount of time to teaching domestic arts. However, the situation is improving, though still on a minimal level. The agricultural extension workers are teaching garden intensification and nutrition. The problem is that there are too few agricultural extension workers, 4,837, out of which only 800 are women, for approximately 49,700,000 rural females. To date, only a few male extension workers have directed their advice to rural women. Furthermore, all programs are not instituted equally in every village in Java and Bali, and they even are more sparsely distributed in the Outer Islands.

The Indonesian Family Planning Program has been aimed at the rural poor and illiterate. The program has been most successful in Bali and East Java where fertility rates have fallen in the last five years. There have been real changes in public and private attitudes which have permitted open discussion of the program's principles. The BKKBN also encourages acceptors to form clubs, as do the other programs aimed at women, which

work at improving the health of infants, and increasing the income of members through self-help projects. The family planning program is moving from utilizing field workers to solicit acceptors, to the establishment of village contraceptive distribution centers (VCDC), particularly in the Outer Islands. While the Indonesian Family Planning Program wants the VCDC to become nuclei for stimulating village-level development projects beneficial for women and men, other government departments feel that it is not the role of the family planning organizations to direct and control such programs.

However, responsible surveys indicate that poor women, the largest proportion of the female rural population, never hear of the most worth-while programs, which tend to be the preserve of the <a href="lurah">lurah</a>'s (village head) wife, and her own social circle. The same factors, manipulated by the <a href="lurah">lurah</a> and his peers, disadvantage poor village men. <sup>29</sup> Additionally, programs such as garden intensification only are possible for those who own some land, have money to buy seeds, and time to care for the garden. In fact, poor rural women and their families generally own little or no land, and plant cassava on rented land because it requires less care than any other subststance crop. Unfortunately, it is also the least nutritious of all readily cultivatable plant staples.

The situation of poor women in Java and Bali from landless or near landless families has worsened. They have little time, as well as little money. They spend long hours working, searching for work, and when they do work, they earn less per hour than women from landed families. Their homes have few conveniences. Their stoves are less efficient, necessitating more time in food preparation. It is often because of their lack of time, lack of funds to buy food and appropriate cooking utensils, that they are unable to act upon nutritional advice they may receive from programs which would improve the health of their children. Only well-off village women

have their own water source, whether a well, spring, or a pond close to their home; poor women have to fetch water themselves or send their children for it. A few of the voluntary agencies, as an accessory to promoting home economics and hygiene courses, have attempted to pipe a clean water supply to villages for general use, and to reduce parasite infestation and gastro-intestinal disease incidence in families. However, these are just exemplary pilot projects rather than part of a new trend.

Rural women have few advocates, and they are powerless. There is no comprehensive minimum wage to protect them (even in theory), nor agricultural labor unions. Rural women are more frequently illiterate than rural men, and an undetermined, yet large, percentage of them rely on a local language, rather than <u>Bahasa Indonesia</u>. They marry at a younger age than young men, and their mobility is soon curtailed by childbearing, and therefore they cannot migrate out of adverse situations as easily as men.

Poor women have other problems. Their rates of marital disruption, incidence of divorce, separation, desertion, and widowhood continue to be higher than for those for middle and upper income rural women. Findings in Yogyakarta traced class differences among women with respect to the number of years women were not at reproductive risk because of marital dissolution; specifically poorer women lost 8-10 years; the well-off lost between 3-6 years. These years represent periods during which women were essentially without a male partner and potentially having to support themselves and their children. Unfortunately, less than one-third of rural women earn enough by their own efforts to support an individual. 34 Underutilization of labor in terms of hours available for work and income earned appear to be greater for the poor than the non-poor, greater for the rural poor than the urban poor, and greater for rural women than rural men in terms of underutilization by virtue of earning a low income. 35

## Prospects for the Future

Changes are occurring in the villages which will affect women positively in the long run. Government programs are improving rural infrastructure and the distribution of essential amenities. As a result, the Indonesian population is undergoing change. In certain areas it is being aggregated in new ways strung out along roads under village resettlement programs. In transmigration areas, in the Outer Islands, the population is being settled in "line villages" along thoroughfares, rather than in nucleated settlements. In both these instances transport and external village communications are improved, and essential services can more readily be extended to the population (in some transmigration areas, unfortunately, merely the potential still exists). Critics feel this process will destroy community cohesion; defenders point to the need to improve the rural standard of living, and to the fact that they are following evolving trends.

Indeed, population has been aggregating itself spontaneously in new ways strung out along highways and on cities' peripheries. A survey of urban agriculture throughout Indonesia has indicated that women in such areas are less involved in agriculture as individuals, as well as unpaid family workers, than in the rural areas. Several studies in Java have shown that women and the other household members who move to villages along thoroughfares leading to major cities, and to urban peripheral areas, improve their standard of living This is true as well for women who move to the cities as individuals. Therefore, household income increases as women's participation in agriculture declines (presumably because there are other, more lucrative jobs available). In fact, the average income of such house-rholds is higher than that of agricultural workers.

According to the Department of the Interior's classification system, 40.7% of the villages are traditional (<u>swadaya</u>); 50.5% are transitional (<u>swakarya</u>); and only 8.8% are developed, self-reliant (<u>swasembada</u>).

Java and Bali have a higher percentage of villages classified as developed. This means they are close to roads and have a full range of amenities such as markets, shops, schools, medical services, and even some recreational services. Such villages are found most frequently surrounding Jakarta and Yogyakarta, and can also be seen in North Sulawesi and Bali. In areas where improved infrastructure has been installed in the villages in Java and Bali, particularly roads, women can spontaneously turn to non-agricultural income-earning activities, and they seem to prefer it. For example, in Bali, illiterate women say they prefer construction work to agriculture because they feel freer and they earn more money on a regular basis. Women in East Java chose factory work over cultivation for similar reasons. 42

The percentage of women engaged in agriculture is declining every year. It is happening as a result of choice, the effects of development programs, and due to economic necessity, since incomes are lower in agriculture than in the non-agricultural sector, and are more irregular. As rural women become better educated, and have more options, particularly better communications with urban areas and their peripheries, they appear to follow three major patterns: they enter the non-agricultural incomeearning sector; they become mere housewives, which appears to be the ultimate rural status (elite) position; or they do not continue to work in the rural areas at all and leave for the city.

Agricultural development projects accelerate the movement of women out of agriculture as a result of the introduction of mechanization. In the labor-scarce Outer Islands women have benefitted from mechanization where it has been introduced, since it reduces the amount of labor needed to cultivate family plots, generally larger than in Java. Women, themselves, have welcomed labor-saving devices in the past for the same reason. They continue to do so with the additional consideration that they, too, want to participate in modernization.

However, in labor-surplus areas of Java and Bali which have received agricultural development projects, notably improvements auxiliary to the "green revolution", women laborers suffer displacement due to the introduction of mechanization, and of new ways of organizing labor. The tendency is to utilize men rather than women when fewer laborers are needed. Men, in most instances, are given the training and are employed to operate the agricultural machinery, which reduces men's employment opportunities, as well.

Paradoxically, studies have been undertaken in Java and Bali which demonstrate that mechanization is unnecessary, is uneconomical from the viewpoint of the need for employment and the efficient use of resources, and destroys the sources of livelihood for poor men and women. 43 It has been recommended that there be no further mechanization in Java and Bali, and that it be confined to the Outer Islands in the future. However, this advice has gone unheeded to date. The lack of coordinated effort at reducing mechanization in Java and Bali appears to be related to projections which predict that Java will become a largely urban industrial island by the beginning of the 21st century. 44 In the case of Bali, as well as Java, a factor to contend with is the wish of administrators to upgrade their constituency to the highest development level; also landowners will not be deterred from mechanizing as a means to increase productivity and profitability.

Due to these factors, poor women in Java and Bali, the largest percentage of Indonesia's female rural population, will continue to have reduced incomes derived from agriculture. The earned income of poor women, whether paid in wages or in-kind is of crucial importance for sustaining poor households. Women in Java and Bali desperately need more alternative income-earning sources, since it is unlikely that these processes can, or will, be reversed.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

## Chapter 3

- 1 Redmana et al 1977: I,129.
  - 2 Oey 1977-78.
  - 3 Papanek et al 1976a:223.
    - 4 Salyo 1977: 88.
    - 5 White 1976: 342; T. Hull 1977b: 12.
    - 6 Hull and Hull 1976:35.
    - 7 Observations of Pauline Milone, and informants.
    - 8 Hull and Hull 1976: 34,35,50.
    - 9 Collier et al, B.I.E.S., March 1974: 106.
  - 10 Ibid.: 108.
  - 11 Timmer, "Choice of Technique" 1973.
  - 12 Indonesia, "The Status and Role of Women in Indonesia": 87.
  - 13 Collier et al, B.I.E.S., March 1974: 116.
  - 14 Montgomery and Sisler: 59-60.
  - 15 Collier et al, "Tebasan, HYVs": 33.
  - 16 Collier et al, "Agricultural Technology": 182.
  - 17 Dewey: 115.
  - 18 Sinaga et al, 1977a: 6-7.
  - 19 Kana, 1975: 49-53.
  - 20 Chandra, 1977: 21-29.
  - 21. Abdi Wahab et al, 1977.
  - 22 Kompas (Jakarta), October 21, 1976.
  - 23 Loehoer, 1976: 100; Sinaga et al 1977a: 5,41.
  - 24 Manning 1977: 28.
  - 25 Anwar Ibrahim 1977:32.

- 26 Sinaga et al 1977:6.
- 27 Papanek and Kuntjoro-Jakti: 1975.
- 28 P. Sajogyo 1977b: 37-67.
- 29 ESCAP/FAO/ILO 1977; Sinaga et al, 1977: 33-38.
- 30 Hart, 1977.
- 31 V. Hull, 1976 a: 9.
- 32 P. Sajogyo 1977a: 6.
- 33 Hull and Hull, 1977: 52-54.
- 34 Redmana 1977: 106-107.
- 35 Ibid: I, chap. V; Moir 1977: II: 104-113.
- 36 Mertens 1976.
- 37 Keontjaraningrat 1975; Suroso Zadjuli 1977; Faktor-Faktor Kesejahteraan 1967; Penelitian Kehidupan 1958.
- 38 Suharso et al 1976: 6,9; Gejala Migrasi: 1977.
- 39 Suharso et al 1976:6.
- 40 Klasifikasi 1972.
- 41 Hasil Evaluasi: 1976/1977.
- 42 Willner 1963.
- 43 Sinaga 1977b; Ketut Sudhana Astika 1977.
- 44 Sumitro Djojohadikasuma: Address to Perwari, "Long Term Development Perspective for the Period 1975-2000": Jakarta, December 1977.

#### Chapter 5 CURRENT FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

#### <u>Introduction</u>

The vastness and complexity of Indonesia has made the country an irresistable challenge to researchers over the years, and a wealth of information has been produced as a result. During the colonial period, considerable research of an anthropological nature was carried out, usually in small geographical areas, some of which touched upon the role and status of women. Many of these studies, along with more recent work, were reviewed for information contained in Chapters 1 and 2 of this report.

Currently, the Government of Indonesia, through various Indonesian research institutes, universities, and the Central Bureau of Statistics, is carrying out a number of large-scale quantitative studies, most of which break down information by sex. While this provides a potentially good data base for women, there are still some difficulties with the data. First, a great deal of the data collected in recent years are still unanalyzed for women-specific purposes. Secondly, the manner in which the data about women were collected, which usually involved male interviewers getting information about women through husbands, leaves some questions about the reliability of the information obtained. In this chapter, we will comment generally on the way in which the field studies are carried out, as well as mention some of the practical problems and limitations of such studies which are evident. We will then briefly summarize the nature, scope, and expected results of the ten major studies which are either in progress or recently completed. This will give an idea of the kinds of information which might be available about women as well as the magnitude of the task of mining the extensive reservoir of information about women in Indonesia.

#### Survey Techniques

Almost all field investigations make use of the information on population characteristics collected by the <a href="lurah">lurah</a>, who heads the rural desa (village), and the urban <a href="kelurahan">kelurahan</a>, the lowest and smallest territorial jurisdictions in the administrative hierarchy. Although the <a href="lurahs">lurahs</a> data have suffered in some areas from severe under-enumeration in the past, their records have improved, particularly in those areas where the Sample Vital Registration Project has been instituted. In addition to information on births, deaths, age, marital status, and in- and out-migration, <a href="lurahs">lurahs</a> collect information on production, on types of land under cultivation, and on ownership of material possessions such as radios, bicycles, and other vehicles, as well as of animals and fowl. They even record family planning statistics. If the <a href="lurahs">lurahs</a> statistics seem unrealistic, an independent census is made by the field investigation team.

Samples are usually selected first by accessibility, with a preponderance of surveys being conducted on Java, and on near-by islands secondarily. This is done for reasons of economy and convenience. Respondents generally are selected on either a purposive or random basis, depending on the aims of the survey, and the size and character of the population in the areas selected. Purposive selection might be made in the rural communities to produce a sample of growing different types of crops, as well as to include people from differing economic strata. This is usually determined by the amount and kind of land or other capital assets owned, or not owned, and by occupation.

Two types of questionnaries are usually administered: a household questionnaire, and an individual questionnaire. Questionnaires generally do not solicit open-ended responses; rather they are structured for a limited range of replies. The majority of attitudinal questions can be answered by "yes" or "no", or by selecting one out of a multiple of of statements.

Participant observation usually is used only in village studies undertaken by a foreign researcher, generally an anthropologist, or in small-scale action-research projects, undertaken by Indonesian social scientists and their assistants. It also is used in large-scale surveys such as the Rural Dynamics Study when it is deemed essential to the study, and where allowance has been made for housing enumerators in villages over a sustained period of time. In other large-scale surveys, enumerators usually move rapidly from village to village, as they have a lot of territory to cover. However, there always is some questioning of knowledgeable local dignitaries about the survey subject in the course of interviewing, particularly in the village in which enumerators may be housed over night.

#### Difficulties in Interviewing Women

Indonesian women respond best to women interviewers who are action-research specialists operating in a non-directive participant-observation situation. However, this type of research is time-consuming, and is not undertaken by Indonesian female university research specialists as often as the administration of questionnaries. Older married women interviewers

seem more compatible than unmarried students with poor, illiterate, and rural women because, generally having had children themselves, they have more in common with village women who start child-bearing at a young age. In fact, junior lecturers are more successful than students. However, students are usually relied upon because they are available in greater numbers than trained older women, and they need both the salary and the experience in social science research.

It is only fairly recently that female students have wanted, or have been encouraged, to conduct interviews. In certain parts of the country, cultural constraints make it difficult for single women to conduct interviews in remote rural areas, and in urban slums, unless chaperoned by a male field supervisor, or accompanied by other female interviewers or companions. Rural areas close to the university are the most usual field investigation sites for women scholars.

Due to a shortage of trained female interviewers, and the difficulty of housing female interviewers in the villages, there is the popular notion among male administrators of field investigations that all conditions in an undertaking will be easier with an all-male staff. This is particularly the case if the survey has to be accomplished quickly, over a wide territorial area, parts of which are difficult of access, with population groups who may be difficult to approach. Constraints of time and budget usually prevail, and male interviewers will collect information about women from male household heads, or from other male members of the family. In fact, in the 1971 Census, and in many other surveys on population characteristics, conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics, only the

head of the household was interviewed, or in some instances, only the village lurah.

Husbands and fathers usually intervene protectively at interviews of women in the rural areas. This is almost always the case when male interviewers are used, and husbands may even block the interview entirely. Many interviews are carried out in the husband's presence, or through his shouting to his wife who remains hidden somewhere behind, or through his interpreting for his wife. Husbands may even intervene in university-level households (V. Hull et al 1976:12). The husband might remain through all questioning, or only through several questions or sessions, until his suspicions have been allayed.

Since women suffer more from illiteracy than men, particularly in the rural areas, and they speak and understand the local language to a greater extent than the national language, <u>Bahasa Indonesia</u>, interviews printed in <u>Bahasa Indonesia</u> often have to be carried out through interpreters, perhaps a woman's children, husband, or neighbors, with the possibility of some distortion. Obviously women interviewers who speak the local vernacular have the most success.

Women's replies can be affected by stereotypes of ideal feminine roles. For example: Swndanese women of West Java are less apt to say that they work outside the home, even if they do, than the Javanese women of Central and East Java (per personal communication with Rudolph Sinaga, Director, Rural Dynamics Study). Poor women of Bali would admit that they work outside the home more readily because they feel that by doing so they fulfill their destiny (karma), while traditional elite women might feel reluctant to make such an admission. Similarly, women may not be as

protectively sheltered from interviews by male household members in one area as compared to another. Poor illiterate women often say they don't know, or give evasive answers, such as "it was God's will", to probing questions. If the interviewer is skillful, and the subject matter straight-forward and non-controversial, these disabilities can be overcome.

## <u>Larger Indonesian Surveys Containing Women-Specific Information</u>

- Indonesian Fertility Mortality Survey 1973 conducted by Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, to provide comparability with fertility and mortality estimates based on data from the 1971 Census.
  - Sample: Survey of 58,406 women, aged 15-49. Sample derived from 86% of Indonesian female urban and rural population in West Java (excluding Jakarta), Central Java (including Yogyakarta), East Java, Bali, Sulawesi, and Sumatra. Only the urban population of Bali, 9.8% of its population, was aggregated with the rural population into one total.
  - Information on Women marital status, marital dissolution, fertility, age at first marriage, pregnancy wastage, infant and child mortality and survival, practice of contraception. Childless women, and older widowed and divorced women are regarded as under-enumerated. The 1971-72 data, which records a fertility decline in comparison to earlier years' data, which does not, is considered unreliable, particularly as a result of a very careful re-survey of West Java conducted in May 1975, 2 years and

3 months after the 1973 Fertility - Mortality Survey. It was found that women "had great difficulty in accurately reporting the year of birth of their children... that misstatement of year of birth was a major factor in the low number of reported births in 1971." (McDonald et al 1976: 21-22).

Interviewers: Female research staff of the Demographic Institute,

Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, conducted the
re-survey in West Java; elsewhere it is supposed, though not
certain, that other female research specialists were utilized,
supervised by Demographic Institute staff members.

Publications: Preliminary Reports: West Java excluding Jakarta
 (March 1974); Central Java including Yogyakarta (August 1974);
 East Java (October 1974); Bali (November 1974); Sulawesi
 (December 1974); Sumatra (January 1975).

Monographs: Levels and Trends in Fertility and
Childhood Mortality in Indonesia, 1976, by Peter F. McDonald,
Mohammad Yasin, & Gavin W. Jones; Berbagai Aspek Perbedaan Pola
Perkawinan di Indonesia Dewasa Ini (Various Aspects of Differential
Marriage Patterns in Indonesia at the Present Time), 1976, by
Sutarsih Muliakusuma; Beberapa Hasil Penelitian Mengenai Reaksi
Penduduk Dipulau Jawa/Madura terhadap Perencanaan Kelahiran
(Some Results of an Investigation regarding Attitudes of the
Inhabitants of the Islands of Sumatra and Sulawesi concerning
Family Planning), 1976, by Azwini Kartoyo; Perkawinan dan
Perceraian di Indonesia: Sebuah Studi antar Kebudayaan (Marriage
and Divorce in Indonesia: A Study between Cultures), 1977, by

Yasmine S. Al Hadar; Pengaruh Perbedaan Sosio Ekonomi terhadap
Fertilitas dan Mortalitas Masa Kanak-Kanak di Indonesia (The
Influence of Socio-Economic Differences on Fertility and Childhood
Mortality in Indonesia), 1976, by Dondan Supraptilah; Primary
and Secondary Sterility in Indonesia, 1976, by Jeanne Cairns
Sinquefield; Methodology of the Fertility Mortality Survey, 1976;
Effect of Infant and Child Mortality on Subsequent Fertility in
Indonesia, 1977, by N. Iskandar and Gavin W. Jones; Sex Preference
for Children in Indonesia, 1977, by Jeanne Carins Sinquefield
& Azwini Kartoyo.

Rural - Urban Migration in Indonesia. 1976. Suharso, Alden Speare, Jr.,
 Han R. Redmana, Imron Husin. Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI Monograph Series,
 April 1976.

Field investigation conducted December 1972 to August 1973 which collected information on economic situation and occupation of migrants in their area of origin, in comparison with their situation in their area of destination. The survey was conducted to augment the 1971 Census information on migration which only recorded data on migrants moving across provincial boundaries, and ignored migration within provincial boundaries. This investigation surveyed migration in both situations.

Sample: 10 provinces and special regions: all of Java, South Sulawesi,
South Sumatra, Lampong, West Sumatra, and North Sumatra, plus
24 cities and middle-size towns, and 25 villages. 17,000 migrants,
aged 15 and over were interviewed in the rural areas. Those
interviewed in the cities had lived there for 5 years or less.

- Information on Women: age, occupation, marital status, educational level, economic and employment situation, in area of origin and area of destination; reasons for moving; success of migrants to the city; percentage of female migration in comparison with male; favored rural-urban migration destinations.
- <u>Interviewers</u>: Local universities supplied enumerators in each area because of the need for speakers of local vernaculars for successful interviewing of migrants coming from widely differing cultural and linguistic areas of origin and destination. There is no record of the sex of the interviewers readily available.
- 3. Pilot Labor Force Survey, December 1975 conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik = BPS), Jakarta. So far, only a confidential report has been written in December 1976 by Prasen Sen Gupta, an ILO expert, on the basis of data processed, and submitted to the Department of Manpower, Transmigration and Cooperatives. Information on labor utilization in the rural areas was collected during the slack agricultural season. Some of this survey's data, derived from unpublished computer output, was utilized for comparative purposes in the LEKNAS-LIPI "Labor Force and Labor Utilization" survey, conducted in Java in the peak agricultural season of August 1977.
  - Sample: Interviewed 400 households each in one rural regency

    (kabupaten) and 1 municipality (kotamadya) in West Java,

    Central Java and East Java, and in 2 regencies and 2 municipalities of South Sumatra. Target sample was evenly divided between urban and rural respondents, total 4,000 households, but actual

number selected was 3935, out of which useable questionnaires were derived for 3040 households.

Information on Women: Female and male labor force participation rates by urban/rural residence, and by age for Java and South Sumatra; unemployment rates by sex and age. Information on income is by household, and the data on occupation, industry, and hours worked last week are not sexually differentiated.

Interviewers: Information unavailable, but probably same as for SAKERNAS. (See below).

4. Labor Force and Labor Utilization in Selected Areas in Java: Results of an Experimental Survey. 1977. Vol. I, by Han R. Redmana,
Hazel V. J. Moir, and Daliyo; Vol. II by Hazel V. J. Moir, Daliyo, and Han R. Redmana. Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI Monograph Series.

This study measures the economic activity of the sample population by its inadequate utilization according to hours of work, income level, mismatch of occupation and education, through unemployment, as well as by adequate utilization. The survey was undertaken in the peak agricultural season to complement and enable comparisons with the BPS' Pilot Labor Force Survey of December 1975, undertaken in the slack agricultural season.

Sample: Households, and individuals aged 10 years and above, urban and rural. 100% of the BPS' Pilot Labor Force Survey sample households in rural Java, only, or 1200 households, were reinterviewed, plus 400 newly selected households in each of three selected kabupaten in Java. 50% of the BPS' urban sample, or 600 households, were re-interviewed, plus 100 newly selected

urban households in each of the <u>kotamadya</u> selected in West and Central Java. Therefore, in comparison with the BPS Survey there were proportionately more rural households than urban (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 1); total number interviewed = 2965 households. An attempt was made to stratify the rural sample by differing predominant types of agriculture (rice, sugar cane, fish ponds, etc.).

Information on Women: cross tabulations by sex for all non-physical condition-of-household tables, supply information on Indonesian women's labor force participation in relation to the rest of Southeast Asia, to residence, age, marital status, relation to household head, education, and occupation; agricultural employment activity rates and unemployment by age and sex, by slack and busy agricultural periods, and by province; underutilization by sex, residence, income, age, marital status, relation to household head, education, and hours available, occupation, industry, individual status, and type of enterprise. Volume II provides information on utilization in poor and not poor households, and on the household context of labor utilization.

Interviewers: Dependent on trained interviewers available in each area of Java. There were not always an equal number of trained women interviewers. For example, in East Java there was only one woman interviewer.

5. <u>SAKERNAS</u> = <u>Survey Angkatan Kerja Nasional 1976</u> (National Labor Force Sample Survey), conducted September to December, 1976, after SUPAS, by the BPS. It is considered a "benchmark survey". It has not yet been published because the data have not been completely analyzed. So far, preliminary figures for Java and Madura only are available; Outer Islands data will follow later. SAKERNAS measured employment activity and unemployment within a fixed time period.

<u>Sample</u>: derived from the whole population of Indonesia.

Information on Women: cross tabulations by sex for all nonphysical
 conditions-of-household tables, supplying information on
 individuals in relation to household head, age, education,
 marital status, training, and primary and secondary employment
 (only birthplace in relation to residence will not be tabulated
 by sex).

Interviewers: men only = mantri statistik.

- set up for policy analysis of the Indonesian agricultural economy in 1965, chaired by the Minister of Agriculture. To date, it has had two "core research" projects, the RIS and the RDS:
  - a) Rice Intensification Study (RIS) conducted from 1968 to 1973 to determine the impact of the introduction of the new high yielding varieties of rice (HYV's) on farmer's livelihood, labor utilization of family members and of farm laborers, sources of, and utilization of credit, decision-making in allocation of resources; and income distribution.

- <u>Sample</u>: 11,000 villages in Java, Bali, South Sulawesi, North Sumatra, and Lampung.
- Information on Women: sex was one of the variables utilized for data collection, but the information collected as, for example, whether the husband or wife participated in a certain activity, was never cross-tabulated by sex, and never processed separately. The same was true for time expenditure. Rather data were aggregated in terms of total number of "man days" required to grow a certain crop. Such sex-specific information might still be extracted from the computer, if needed.

  Some of the information concerning the impact of the HYV's on women, and of the effect of the introduction of rice hullers, has appeared in articles written by people who directed and undertook the survey, such as Achmad T. Birowo, Rudolph Sinaga, William Collier, and Benjamin White.
- Interviewers: only about 10% were women, because only that number of women students were available; also because it is felt to be difficult, and even inappropriate, to lodge women interviewers in the villages as part of a predominantly male team.
- Technique of interviewing women: men interviewers did not talk to women directly in most instances; rather the women remained hidden in the house, or behind, and the male interviewer questioned her husband or son, who in turn shouted to her.

b) Rural Dynamics Study (RDS) - from 1975 to the present; conducted to collect information on rural production systems, rural labor forces and employment, and the effectiveness of rural institutions, to provide information for three major goals of Indonesian rural development: economic growth and enhanced productivity, improved employment opportunities and alternative income-earning possibilities, and improved income distribution. The RDS is proposed to continue until 1985, with the hope of developing a replicable research strategy useful for data collection in other regions.

Sample: Stratified by accessibility, non-accessibility, and ecological conditions. Highly developed villages found along thoroughfares and on the edge of cities, and typified as "urban shadow" villages were not surveyed. 800 villages were surveyed in the Cimanuk Valley, West Java, and "extensive" information was collected on local conditions and recent changes in ecology, agriculture, demography, occupation, infrastructure, and institutions. Then, semi-intensive research was carried out on 20 selected sample villages, starting in July 1976, utilizing case-study and twice-yearly "quick studies" and group interviews. More intensive research was carried out on 7 villages, with the most intensive research centering on 60 households. Interviewers were encouraged to use participant observation where possible.

Information on Women: Sex was one of the variables utilized for
 data collection, but not all information was cross-tabulated
 by sex. (The major report on rural production systems will be
 worked on in future.)

The director of the RDS, Dr. Rudolph Sinaga, said: "Send us issues concerning women, what needs to be analyzed, so that we will look and see if we have the data. If we do not, we will develop it since we are looking for relevant issues."

Published Materials: 20 monographs for each of 20 villages, giving a general picture concerning social and economic conditions in each village. There are also 8 research reports on subjects such as fisheries as a source of income, transport facilities distribution, agricultural systems, family sources of income, village institutions, and land use, industry and trade facilities, recent changes in technology and paddy production. In addition, papers have been delivered by staff members at conferences providing additional information on such subjects as technological unemployment, the low returns from handicraft and off-farm non-harvesting labor, time budget differentials by sex, the value of children's work contribution to the household.

Recent Reports: Rural Institutions Serving Small Farmers and Labourers

1977. Rudolf S. Sinaga, Abunawan Mintoro, Yusuf Saefudin, &

Benjamin White. One table is tabulated by sex, entitled "Wages
in Selected Occupations (in U.S. \$ and rice equivalents),

Sykagalih late 1976".

Penyediaan dan Kebutuhan Tenaga Kerja di Sektor Pertanian

(Supply and Needs of the Labor Force in the Agricultural Sector),
by Memed Gunawan, Rozany Nurmanaf, Soentoro, M. Husein Sawit,
and Sri Hartoyo, March 1977. Many tables cross-tabulated by sex,
concerning work in comparison to hours worked, age, income,
occupation, kind of work; also information on migration by
age and sex. Data derived from 800 villages.

## c) RDS-related project concerning Indonesian rural women:

"Penelitian Ekonomi Rumah Tangga dan Peranan Wanita di Pedesaan" (Rural Household Economies and the Role of Women - A Study in Two Areas of West Java, Indonesia). Field research will be undertaken for one year (it started in the last days of November 1977) to provide information on the changing roles of rural women in regard to:

- 1 Patterns of labor allocation, utilization, productivity and use of technology by all household members in income producing and household maintenance, including information on how often women are left to undertake such tasks by themselves, for periods of time.
- 2 Male and female access to, and participation in community and development activities and programs.
- 3 The role of women, men, and other family members in decisionmaking.

Sample: This project will survey households in two villages,

1 from the RDS sample, and 1 from the Action Research Project
on Community Nutrition in Villages in West Java, directed by
the Center for Rural Sociological Research, Bogor Agricultural
University. It will make use of their baseline data. The
sample is made up of 120 households, 60 in each village, divided
into 3 socioeconomic groups, determined primarily by size of
landholdings.

Interviewers: 2 women trained by the RDS, and 2 from the Center for Rural Sociological Research (CRSR), supplemented by 4 village women, the majority teachers, in each village.

7. <u>SUPAS</u> = <u>Survey Penduduk Antar Census March 1976</u> (The 1976 Intercensal Population Survey.) Publication: 1978.

This sample intercensal survey supplies more information than the 1971 Census because it is more intensive. In addition to the usual demographic information, it has collected data on comparative regional socioeconomic conditions and manpower utilization. It was conducted to test the validity of fertility and mortality estimates in order to determine Indonesian population trends. It also collects relevant information to assess national family planning program utilization and fertility levels, and makes a contribution to the World Fertility Survey, undertaken to assess world fertility trends.

The 1976 Intercensal Population Survey is divided into three integrated multi-purpose phases:

- <u>Phase I</u> Household Listing: information on sex, date of birth, age, family composition, relationship to household head, marital head, own mother status useful for computation of fertility, and for selection of future samples.
- Sample: 257,100 households: urban = 76,200, and rural = 180,900 within groupings of 2 to 7 regencies in Java and Bali, and in the Outer Islands.

<u>Interviewers</u>: all men.

Information on Women: Fertility estimates, based on "Own Children Method".

- <u>Phase II</u> This is the most comprehensive part of the survey as it supplies information on both household and individual characteristics. All tables will be cross-tabulated by sex.
- <u>Sample</u>: An approximately one-quarter sub-sample of Phase I.
  60,733 households throughout Indonesia: 26,325 = urban;
  34,408 = rural.
- <u>Information on Households</u>: Household conditions, floors, walls, sources of water, illumination, size of land holdings in hectares, assets owned, as radios, bicycles, animals, etc.; household's principal means of livelihood.

### <u>Information on Women:</u>

Demographic - population according to age, sex, relation to household head, household size and membership, marital status, religion, educational level achieved, school attendance, literacy, status of mother (at home, not at home, dead, etc.), status of father, place of residence, migration, mortality, and eyesight difficulties.

- Work Force information on males and females 10 years of age and above according to age, occupation, whether employed or not, kind of work, work status, hours worked, place of work, primary and secondary employment, unemployment, income, marital status, relation to household head, educational level completed.
- Fertility ever married women questioned, and currently (under 50) married, for family planning information concerning age, in relation to age at first marriage, number of children ever born and living, family planning methods utilized, sex of children, desire for additional children, literacy, educational level completed, religion, kind of home activity or work, marital status at time of survey, number of marriages.
- Interviewers: 90% men, who questioned household heads for household and demographic information; household members were questioned individually for workforce and fertility information.
- <u>Phase III</u> Indonesian Fertility Survey to supply information on fertility and family planning, and to contribute to the World Fertility Survey.
- <u>Sample</u>: Only 11,100 households, rural and urban from Java, Madura, and Bali; information on eligible women was obtained from 9,139 women.

Information on Women: will be supplied by all tables which ask for information concerning age, age at first marriage, years since first marriage, current marital status, number of marriages and divorces, level of education, literacy, pattern of work (currently working, and not working); husband's age, educational level, most recent occupation, whether currently lives with wife, or lives intermittently with wife; wife's history of pregnancies, sex and number of children born, children still living, infant and child mortality, additional children desired, knowledge and use of contraceptives, use of public medical facilities, how heard of family planning, via which type of media promotion, or at which type of social gathering.

Interviewers: all women, supervised by male field editors
 (team with ratio of 1 male to 3 female interviewers).

Publications: By BPS in 1st semester, 1978; also by International Statistical Institute, London, in conjunction with World Fertility Survey. A preliminary analysis of data can be found in Jeanne Cairns Sinquefield and Bambang Sungkono, 1977a,

Fertility and Family Planning in Java and Bali: Based on the 1976

Java-Bali Fertility Survey and Other Sources.

8. Sample Vital Registration Project - conducted under the auspices of the BPS and the Indonesian Family Planning Program (BKKBN) to collect information via prototype registration forms, recorded by urban and rural <a href="lurah">lurah</a>, on births, deaths, still-births, age, marital status, in-migration and out-migration, plus household composition, every 6 months. This is an attempt to improve the traditional population

registration procedure, dating back to the colonial period, which also was the responsibility of all <u>lurah</u>, but did not utilize standardized registration procedures and forms. Under this system, statistics were, and are, aggregated by the Department of the Interior. Severe under-registration is still regarded as a problem, despite this project.

- Sample Area: 10 provinces in Java, Madura, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, and Nusa Tenggara, where centers were set up to collect mailed data from 1 <a href="ketjamatan">ketjamatan</a> (sub-district) each in the case of 9 provinces, and from 5 <a href="desa">desa</a> (village units) in the case of Jakarta. Initially, the project was to run only for 3 years, 1974-77; now, it has been expanded to cover registration for the whole population of Jakarta and of East Java. Eventually, it should cover the whole of Indonesia.
- <u>Information on Women</u>: all data collected is by sex, but not all of it will be published by sex.
- Interviewers/Registrars: Lurah, or locally selected male registration officials. Household heads were interviewed concerning information about household members. Women were interviewed more directly concerning age at first marriage, and own children.
- 9. <u>Ministry of Health Vital Registration</u> up to the time of the Sample Vital Registration Project, the Ministry of Health's statistics, collected through <u>kabupaten</u> (regency) offices, soliciting data from the lurah, were the most highly regarded (vital registration

of special sections of the population were also conducted by the Departments of Justice and Religious Affairs). Information was provided on births, deaths, and still-births, by sex. However, the data have been limited to Java and Madura, and a few areas in the Outer Islands. Since the Department of Health relies on the <a href="https://limited.com/limited-to-bepartment">lurah's</a> cooperation in filling out a 3-part form, it, like the Department of the Interior's statistics, has suffered from underregistration, although the situation is improving.

SUSENAS = Survey Sosial - Ikonomi Nasional (National Socio-Economic Surveys). Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics. Five rounds of data collection have been conducted: 1st round, 1963-64; 2nd round, 1964-65; 3rd round, 1967; 4th round, 1969-70; 5th round, 1976. The 6th round will be conducted in February 1978.

Data on urban and rural income distribution and consumption and expenditures (data were not acquired through direct questions on income because answers were found to be too unreliable). The fifth round, conducted in 1976, indicated that urban income distribution had worsened; the rich were getting richer, and the poor poorer, and that the rural situation had slightly improved, or remained the same. This finding has astonished rural researchers because they

have noticed a worsening or rural income distribution. They suggest

that the error may lie in overstatement of expenditures by poor out

of shame, and understatement of the well-off out of fear of taxation.

<u>Sample</u>: Java and Madura, more often than Java, and Madura plus the Outer Islands.

Information on Women: The wife, primarily, or whoever else knew, was questioned about food expenditures and about consumption; where possible the whole family was questioned. However, the head of the household was most frequently questioned. Information is published by household, and not by sex, because the survey is conducted to reveal household, as well as per capita, consumption patterns.

Up to 1970, SUSENAS collected information on demographic characteristics, fertility, and labor force participation.

However, the BPS does not regard this information as accurate.

CHAPTER 6: POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

### Summary Critique of Existing Data Base

There is a difficulty in working with the data available on women in Indonesia, particularly from the perspective of the policy-maker and program designer. There is a great deal of information collected in large-scale, usually Java-Bali, surveys, which is too broad, obscuring crucial class and ethnic differences by the manner in which data are aggregated. The census illustrates this tendency to aggregate data by province and also to utilize overly-broad categories, particularly in its economic participation by industry, with any useful precision. This prevents us from knowing where the industrial growth areas are and how women are being involved or affected.

Other household surveys - virtually all of them - use the household as the unit of analysis and seldom, if ever, interview the women members. This applies particularly to studies of household economics. While it is true that Indonesian families tend to form closer units with more intercommunication among members than many other societies, few researchers have analyzed individual contributions to household finances to understand intra-household economic dynamics. However, from what we can learn about women's economic participation, it is extremely important to know such detail if successful strategies are to be found for improving economic conditions among poor families, where women's income and even non-market activities take on heightened importance for family survival.

On the other hand, there are some finely detailed rural village studies which probe more deeply, but for reasons of time, cost, and convenience of personnel, are carried out in a limited area, or for academic reasons are carried out in remote or culturally atypical areas. The information generated is not valid except for the specific area in which it was collected. Again, even in the smaller studies, women are seldom interviewed directly because the researchers are usually men who are not allowed access to the women. Most of the studies which have focussed on women have been concerned with their fertility rather than their role in development.

In addition to the paradox of the data being either too broad or too marrow and lacking in female specificity, there is a glaring weakness in the data base for the Outer Islands. It is logical that most of the research would be concentrated in the most populated areas of Java and Bali; however, the transmigration program continues to encourage people to migrate away from those islands. As Java becomes increasingly urban-industrial, the agricultural productivity of the Outer Islands will be more important. Too little is known of the Outer Islands, particularly how indigenous women participate in the development process and how new migrants have adapted.

A further gap in information, perhaps the most crucial one, concerns women's income earning capacities and strategies, the effects of seasonality on their income, and the effects of the changing economy on women's economic roles and opportunities. More must be known about women's economic productivity, and contributions to family economics in order to understand the dynamics of poverty.

We also believe that more information is needed about the effects of migration and marital instability on women, particularly on how women, who are not officially supposed to be the head of household, cope when divorced or left by their husband who may spend long periods of time away from home. Do the traditional family structures actually support such women and their children, or has inflation and expanding poverty weakened the extended family's ability to provide the expected support? Do women become the sole providers in such cases, and if so, how do they manage and for how long a period?

## Existing Research Capability

From the discussion of the large-scale surveys in the preceeding chapter, and from the listing of current smaller studies in Appendix A, it is obvious that there is interest, capability and potential for even more, for research on women in Indonesia. The work has been carried out by a variety of Indonesian and foreign scholars, institutes, and agencies. Some of the most concerned scholars have been members of the faculties in the social and economic sciences and law at the Universities of Indonesia, Padjajaran, Gadjah Mada, Airlangga and Den Pasar; the Bogor Agricultural Institute; and individuals associated with LEKNAS. The National Commission on the Status of Women coordinated a great deal of work during International Women's Year (1975) resulting in a number of reports made available in Indonesia and at international meetings.

There is however, a lack of coordination among those concerned individuals and institutes which results in much of the research falling into the "fugitive" category; that is, it is done, a few copies are printed, and then is lost for all practical purposes because there is no central repository or group actively collecting such studies. Furthermore, there is very little intercommunication in the field of research on women between or among government agencies, research institutes, and academic institutions. There is a social science consortium, and an annual meeting of the social sciences, but to date, research on women has not been on the agenda.

Each university faculty, institute, government department, and individual scholar, has their own collection of material. The <a href="mailto:skripsi">skripsi</a>, dissertations, and reports of one Faculty on the same subject normally are not exchanged or compared with another. This situation has come about in part because none of the universities has a comprehensive central card catalog listing <a href="mailto:all">all</a> the holdings of each Faculty, nor are subject categories well-developed. Furthermore, the students and members of one Faculty do not have free access to the libraries of other Faculties and research institutes. As a consequence, students are not inclined to search for references. Senior staff members have the best private collections of up-to-date materials, since they are on publishers' lists, but duplicates of their holdings are unavailable to students on an individual user basis in the Faculty libraries.

There are also readily apparent problems with survey data stemming from the manner in which surveys are carried out. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, few women enumerators are employed by the major studies, reducing the possibility that women will be interviewed directly. Furthermore, in some surveys there is a tendency to interview those who are in control, and those who are the most articulate. Thus, the head of the village will be interviewed more often than household heads; the head of the household more often than household members, etc. Few researchers actually talk directly to women.

### Recommendations for Future Strategies

The potential exists in Indonesia to develop one of the best data bases on women in the developing world. There is already extensive information, a long history of survey and anthropological research, and, most importantly, official government interest in the subject. Indonesia possesses numerous universities and research institutes from which to draw qualified researchers as well as students who might develop into researchers. Indonesia has an additional resource which may prove to be a critical factor in developing a strategy for useful research: active, perceptive, and pervasive women's organizations. Information produced by scientific research is useless unless it is injected into the decision-making processes of the government and disseminated to the many international and bilateral organizations which plan and implement development programs. The women's groups are best situated to translate research into action, as well as to carry

out specific kinds of program-related research themselves. However, improvement in existing capabilities will be necessary before they can become truly effective.

In addressing these problems of conducting research on women, our recommendations for future strategies would fall into the following categories:

- . better coordination of existing institutions and information;
- augmentation of existing institutional capabilities;
- . modification of current survey techniques;
- . expansion of the data collected by the SUSENAS study.

With respect to better coordination of existing information and institutions, it would be useful to build up a collection of materials on women in libraries in each of the 26 provinces and in major regions within each province. This could be accomplished in part through photocopying existing materials, such as those found in the collection of the National Commission on the Status of Women, monographs, reports, and papers published by research organizations and delivered at national and international conferences. Selected student <a href="skripsi">skripsi</a> and dissertations would also be useful in such collections.

Of particular benefit in the coordination of information on women would be annual or semi-annual meetings of individuals at the various institutes and women's organizations who are working on the issues affecting women. Such meetings would encourage coordination of projects, sharing of conceptual frameworks and definition of terms,

as well as avoid costly duplication of efforts.

Another project which would have a value to the state of the art, as well as for the training of researchers, would be to inventory the data which have been collected, but not tabulated, by the various phases of the Agro-Economic Survey at the Bogor Agricultural Institute, and ask master's students at various universities to carry out analyses of specific portions of it for their <a href="skripsi">skripsi</a>. With the coordination of a cognizant faculty committee, substantial headway could be made in making that information available to planners and other researchers.

Another useful step would be to augment the capabilities of existing institutions for both research and action. Of primary importance for better research on women is the training of many more women in social sciences and economics who can design, direct and implement relevant research. Serious attention should be given by the government and international agencies and foundations to expanding the opportunities of women to prepare themselves academically in Indonesian universities as well as in advanced courses abroad. Also urgently needed is a great increase in the number of women enumerators employed on the large-scale surveys which now by-pass women respondents. Women are too large and significant a portion of the population to leave out of such surveys, even if it means increasing the costs of the research in order to find ways to accommodate women enumerators, if, as has been stated, field housing is a problem.

Women's organizations are another active element in the stragegy for improving the situation of women and, with careful planning and financial assistance, would become the link between research and action.

Indonesia's women's organizations are of two major kinds: the majority are auxiliaries of their husband's organizations; the minority are feminist organizations. There is a growing interest among the members of all women's organizations in conducting research. There is the realization that the women's organizations must move from pure volunteerism to some sort of professional commitment, including the employment of a full-time trained staff for compiling and using data at the policy coordination level.

The current interest of some of the elite women in research training for themselves seems to stem from several factors: their keen interest in improving the effectiveness and implementation of their organizations' programs; the realization that academia regards many of their programs as unrealistic; and the knowledge that external funding organizations increasingly have certain prior conditions of competence for the administration of well-funded programs.

It would seem that professionalization should take place first in the National Commission for the Status of Women, which has the most prestigious of women's organizations' leaders and women social scientists on its board of directors, but only one paid staff member. The volunteer status of board members, and its heterogenous membership, is an advantage since in the past they have brought in many creative ideas for developing policy. As members of the elite, they also have been able to extract funds from government for their seminars, publications, and projects. They identify their role as one of providing information on women's social and legal status to governmental, nongovernmental, and international organizations. This information is collected from existing statistical publications, and has resulted in recommendations for future policy. A professional staff is needed for compiling and coordinating existing data on women from all fields, from every major region, and from all of the 26 provinces of Indonesia. Such professionally staffed women's organizations could become highly effective advocates for women in the rapidly changing life of the country.\*

With respect to our third recommendation, two modifications in the administration of current surveys would allow for more sensitive and consistent data to be collected. Some surveys dilineate only an area of inquiry, such as "economic activities", but do not specify the questions to be asked to elicit the desired information. This leaves to the discretion of the enumerator the way in which the question is asked. It is possible to bias the response by the way in which the question is posed. Specific questions could help to eliminate this bias.

<sup>\*</sup> KOWANI, with its large and comprehensive membership could also benefit from professionalization of its program staff in order to turn information on problem areas into program action.

Another modification would be to ensure that interviews are carried out in the language of the respondent. Field surveys frequently rely on university students for enumerators, and the largest and most prestigious universities tend to attract a cosmopolitan student body and cannot always provide students with the necessary local language abilities. Women, more frequently than men, are unable to speak the national language, and enumerators cannot interview them directly. A possible solution would be to contract more frequently with academic departments in regional universities whose student bodies are principally made up of young people from the surrounding area, or to train teachers or leaders of women's organizations to carry out such surveys.

## Nationwide Women's Module for SUSENAS

These steps, while helpful, will not solve the problem of data being too narrow or too broad for national and regional planning purposes. Only a well-conceived national survey can produce information of the scale and sensitivity needed.

The International Center for Research on Women, therefore, would recommend a two-phased program to those academic institutes and government agencies concerned with data on women. The object of the project would be to produce a women's module which could be incorporated in the SUSENAS program and administered every fifth

quarter, thus collecting data on women regularly but at different seasons over a five year period. The first phase of the study would be to include what might be termed "macro questions" in the next SUSENAS round. We have included questions which we think would be appropriate for that purpose at the end of this chapter. The results of this survey would be tabulated and analyzed, but would also allow for the selection of key localities and groups of individuals which might be reflective of the range of Indonesian women (i.e., age group; socio-economic class; economic level; residence; labor force status; marital status; ethnic group; etc.).

The second phase of the project would involve a cooperative effort among the Central Bureau of Statistics, a consortium of academic institutes, and key women's organizations to carry out a series of "micro-studies" among those representative groups identified in the first study. The purpose of the micro-studies would be to determine if the macro-study was sensitive to their situations, and if the right questions were asked to obtain data in sufficient detail to accurately reflect their lives and concerns. The results of phase two would produce refinements in the women's module ready for inclusion the next time the women's module was scheduled to be included in SUSENAS.

In terms of strategies for the collection of data on women, we believe this would be the most efficient in terms of time and money for the <u>rapid</u> collection of data on Indonesian women. In terms of the quality and quantity of data obtainable, it is almost ideal.

Much information on the subject of women can be derived from moderatesized representative samples of households by personal interview
surveys. In terms of data manipulation, such surveys are a suitable
method for supplementing tabulations available from the official
census; they permit generalizations to a larger population of which
the sample is representative, and permit multivariate analysis of
important interrelationships among variables covered by the survey.
In terms of quality of data, such surveys are particularly well suited
to generate new insights into a multidimensional measurement of women's
condition, tracking changes in women's roles and picking up trends as
they emerge. Such data can also provide a base line from which to
evaluate the impact of development programs on women. It should be of
particular use to regional planners who will be able to obtain
sufficiently detailed data about women in their own regions.

In this proposed two-phased project, it is <u>essential</u> that women interviewers be used to interview women themselves. Not only is there the tendency for men to protect their women from other men, but other cultural factors may interfere with the study if women are not employed. For instance, women may want to make their husbands appear in the best light in front of other men, and thus under-report their own contributions and over-report those of their husbands. If men interviewed other men about women's activities, the same tendency would be likely; men may be embarrassed about the magnitude of women's

even if he knows the information being sought. Finally, since this survey will also seek attitudinal information, it is essential to insure direct access to the women in the study. Failure to interview women directly would be unacceptable.

For these reasons, and more, we believe it is essential to involve the major women's organizations, the National Commission on the Status of Women and particularly those organizations which have memberships throughout the archipelago. Female enumerators are not in sufficient supply to fully staff such a project. We would propose that serious consideration be given to contracting with regional universities to involve their women students, but also to supplement the ranks of interviewers with members and officers of the women's organizations, specially trained for work on this survey. With the cooperation of the women's organizations, not only might the personnel problems be alleviated, but some of the logistical problems of keeping women interviewers properly chaperoned in the field might be solved as well.

It is our belief that Indonesia offers a unique opportunity to make a major contribution to the field of research on women. As is apparent from information in this study, the Government of Indonesia is aware of the need to improve the economic productivity of women and has identified the development of cooperatives as one of its priorities.

The officials of the Central Bureau of Statistics have expressed a keen interest in improving and expanding the data base available for women. They are open to experimenting with methodologies in order to do this. If this program of data collection on women occurs, it will be the first country in the developing world to actually implement the recommendations of the Conference on International Women's Year held by the United Nations in Mexico City in 1975. It will also provide a model for similar action in other countries still in need of developing their first data base. We know that the Central Bureau of Statistics intends to push ahead on this concept, and we hope that our recommendations will be both timely and useful to them.

# EXPERIMENTAL MODULE: WOMEN'S COMPONENT IN HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS

(To be completed for all females in household, 15 years and over)

NOTE: It is assumed that a normal household chart will be completed for the entire household listing everyone who lives there, their ages and their relationship to the head of household.

Name of respondent:		
GENERAL		
<u>1</u> .	Age	
<u>2</u> .	What ethnic group do you belong to?	
<u>3</u> .	What language is spoken in your home?	
<u>4</u> .	Can you speak Bahasa Indonesia?	
<u>5</u> .	Does your household own any of the following:	
a.	Agricultural land (more than .5 hectare/less than .5 hectare)	
b.	Other real estate	
c.	Family home	
d.	Physical place of business (e.g. shop, boat, other work place)	
e.	None of the above	
<u>6</u> .	Have you ever had any children?	
a.	Number of children born	
Ь.	Number of children living	
c.	Number of children who died	
d.	Age at first pregnancy	
۵	Age at last pregnancy	

DA	TA ON EDUCATION/TRAINING
<u>7</u> .	Can you read and write? In what character?
<u>8</u> .	Are you presently attending school or a training program?
a.	If in school, what type of school?
	(e.g., vocational secondary-government, general secondary-private,
	primary-religious)
b.	If in training program what type?
	(e.g., on-the-job; non-formal literacy; non-formal home science,
	plus sponsor.)
с.	If not currently in school or training, have you ever attended
	school or training program?
	1. Highest level of formal schooling Type of School
	2. Type of training
	a. Number of years of training
<u>9</u> .	Are there any training programs (other than formal schools) that
	you know of in this area?
a.	If yes, what is being taught?
b.	Have you attended?
c.	If not, why not?
	(e.g., no time, no money, no interest, don't feel welcome)
MI	GRATION HISTORY
	Are you now living in the province of your birth?
	If not, where were you born?
-	(location and province)

11. How long have you been living in your present town or village?		
12. If you have moved from your original birth place, what was the		
direction of your last move?		
a. from rural to rural		
b. from urban to urban		
c. from rural to urban		
d. from urban to rural		
13. On your last move, did you move:		
a. alone		
b. as part of a family move, following:		
1. spouse		
2. parents		
3. adult son		
4. adult daughter		
5. other family members		
14. How many times in your life have you moved from one province		
to another?		
MARITAL HISTORY		
15. Current marital status: Single/Married/Separated/Widowed/Divorced/		
Abandoned/Consensual union/Polygamous marriage		
(If never married, skip to question 20)		
16. Number of years in current marital status		

<u>17</u> .	IF MARRIED, is spouse currently present in the household?	
a.	IF NOT, how long has he been absent? For what reason?	
b.	IF SPOUSE IS PRESENT, within the last year has he been absent from	
	the household for a period of six months or more?	
	1. IF YES (above), for what reason?	
<u>18</u> .	Age at <u>first</u> marriage Age at <u>last</u> marriage	
<u> 19</u> .	Number of previous marriages	
a.	Approximate number of years spent in each previous marriage:	
	1- First	
	2- Second	
	3- Third	
	4- Fourth	
b.	Number of children from each marriage:	
	l- First	
	2- Second	
	3- Third	
	4- Fourth	
FAMILY HEADSHIP		
<u>20</u> .	Who in this household takes responsibility for the family in terms of:	
a.	Providing financial support	
b.	Making decisions regarding important family matters	
<u>21</u> .	How do YOU define the term "head of household"?	
	- Aldook male/namen the automate forth to the male at	
	(e.g., eldest male/person who supports family/person who makes major decisions)	

22.	Do you consider yourself the "head of household"?
a.	Yes Why
ь.	No Why
<u>23</u> .	Have you ever considered yourself as the head of this household?  IF YES, why?
<u>24</u> .	IF PREVIOUSLY MARRIED, have you ever considered yourself to be the head of a household at any previous time in your life?
a.	IF YES, specify for what period of time?
	1. For what reason?
<u>25</u> .	Have you ever been the main provider for your family?
a.	IF YES, when was this?
	1. IF YES, why?
ECO	NOMICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD
<u>26</u> .	In the past year, have you contributed in any way to bring money
	or other material necessities (food, clothing) to this household?
a.	IF YES, what? Cash Other Both
<u>27</u> .	Are there other members <u>in this household</u> who contribute to the support of this family?
a.	IF YES, who?
	Family Member Type of Contribution (cash, other, both)

<u>28</u> .	Are there any persons <u>living away</u> from this household who			
	contribute to the support of this family?			
	None			
	Relatives: cash other both			
	Non-relatives: cash other both			
<u> 29</u> .	Does this household receive any income from sources not			
	mentioned above?			
<u>30</u> .	Who is the person responsible for managing the household			
	finances?			
<u>31</u> .	Do you consider your family income to be: adequate, not quite enough,			
	far too little, for your household needs?			
<u>32</u> .	If additional income is needed, is there additional work available			
	in this area?			
a.	IF WORK IS AVAILABLE, who in your household would be qualified to			
	get such work? (Self/ other female / other male)			
b.	IF WORK IS AVAILABLE, who in your household has the time for extra			
	work, qualified or not? (self / other female / other male)			
INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC				
<u>33</u> .	Are you currently (this season) engaged in some kind of economic			
	activity? YES NO (IF YES, skip to question 34)			

<u>33</u> .	. Continued		
a.	IF NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, are you looking for work?		
	1. IF NOT LOOKING FOR WORK, why?		
	(e.g., gave up, ill, no need, not proper season, in school, retired)		
	2. IF NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, have you ever been active?		
<u>34</u>	. (This chart is to be completed for all women who are engaged in any		
	economic activity. Complete one chart for their current primary		
	activity and up to $\underline{two}$ secondary activities. If they do other		
	kinds of work in addition, simply list the remaining activities.)		
A	Duimanu Astivitu [] Casandanu Astivitu []		
A. Primary Activity [] Secondary Activity []			
о.	Specify type of work		
	(FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, is it on own farm?or another's farm?		
С.	Method of Payment:		
	Cash Amount (Rp)per(time/piece)		
	<pre>In-kind Amountper(time/piece)</pre>		
	None		
D.	Is the work you are now doing:		
	1. Permanent		
	2. Irregular		
	3. Seasonal (How many seasons is it available in a year?)		
Ε.	How many hours per day do you engage in the above activity?		
F.	. How many days per week do you do this work?		
G.	Status of worker: Employer / Employee / Own Account Worker /		
	Unpaid Family Worker		
н.	Place of work: Home / Farm / Marketplace / Plant / No defined place		

I. D	o you need capital for your work?
1	. If so, where do you get it?
2	. Do you require daily capital?
J. D	o you need tools or machinery to do your work?
1	. Are they your <u>own</u> tools or machines?
<u>35</u> .	Do you engage in other economic activities during the year that ar
	different from the ones you have just described?
a.	IF YES, list them by season:
	Season Primary Activity Secondary Activity
<u>36</u> .	What would you say is your <u>main</u> economic activity for the year?
	(If no one activity can be named, enter "not defined")
<u>37</u> .	Are your current year's activities your usual sources of income
	(say, over the past five years)?
<u>38</u> .	What is your busiest time of the year?
<u>39</u> .	What do you think are the best economic opportunities for women
	like yourself? (that pay the most)

<u>40</u> .	What are the worst opportunities?
<u>41</u> .	If you could choose, what kind of work would you prefer?
<u>42</u> .	If you needed to borrow money in an emergency, where would you
	get it? (e.g., Relative / Employer / Friend / Bank / Informal local
	lender)
<u>43</u> .	Do you own, in your own name, any real estate?
a.	If so, what?
IND	IVIDUAL HEALTH
<u>44</u> .	Would you describe yourself as <a href="healthy/">healthy?</a>
<u>45</u> .	Is there a doctor or medical facility near you?
<b>a</b> .	If so, have you ever used it for your own health problems?
b.	If you were ill, would you use it?
с.	If not, why?
<u>46</u> .	If you are, or later hope to be, the mother of children, would you
	take your children to such a medical facility if they were ill?
<u>47</u> .	Who usually attends to you when you need medical care?

# APPENDIX A. RESEARCH IN PROGRESS - 1977-1978

"Rural Household Economies and the Role of Women - A study in Two Areas of West Java, Indonesia"; to provide information on labor allocation in small households, productivity of household members, female and male access to community development programs and use of technology, problems of women of different socio-economic classes in providing adequate nutrition, and collective roles of family members in decision-making; to be undertaken by the Dept. of Agriculture, Agro-Economic Survey, Rural Dynamics Study, Dr. Rudolph Sinaga, Director, in cooperation with the Center for Rural Sociological Research, Bogor Agricultural Institute, Ir. Pudjiwati Sajogyo, project leader, FAO/SIDA funded. Related to Agro-Economic Survey of Cimanuk River Basin, West Java, and action research project on community nutrition in villages of Sukabumi regency, West Java.

"Household Economy on a Plantation Periphery: Javanese Estate Laborers in North Sumatra", on-going field investigation, Ann Stoler, Bogor Agricultural Institute.

"Women as Workers and Homemakers" (Wanita Sebagai Pekerja dan Ibu Rumah Tangga): a study of women working part-time in the agricultural sector, part-time in trade, and other non-agricultural income-earning activities, and in maintaining their households, Sleman, Special District Yogyakarta; Partini, Sutaryo, Nancy Lee Peluso, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, and Population Institute, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

"A Study of Birth Interval Dynamics in Rural Java", undertaken in Ngalik, Special District Yogyakarta, 1976-78, sample of 500 child-bearing women; Valerie Hull, Population Institute, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

Social surveys concerning fertility behavior in relation to socio-economic strata and educational levels, plus the value of children; Valerie and Terence Hull, Population Institute, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

"The Role of Ecology and Economy in Determining the Social Status of Sasak Women", a contrast between the women of the highlands with the women of the lowlands on Lombok Island; Mary Judd, sponsored by the National Science Foundation.

"Family Law and Fertility"; "Evaluation of the Implementation of the New Marriage Law"; "Family Planning as a Basic Human Right", Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association, Nani Soewondo, Faculty of Law, Brawidjaja Univ., Malang; survey area: Malang.

"Oral Histories of Distinguished Indonesian nationalists: 3 women and 3 men'; Marie Mohr, Department of Linguistics, Stanford University.

Projects concerned with women and the law, National Law Body, Jakarta.

"Peasant Industries as a Subsistence Alternative for Farm Families on Java"; dissertation research in progress of Ann Soetoro, University of Hawaii; research area: Yogyakarta and South Central Java.

"Effects of Transmigration on Fertility Behavior"; dissertation to be completed at Australian National University, Canberra, of Mayling Oey, Economic and Social Research Institute, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Analysis of fertility behavior in relation to family planning program, and the results of the 1976 Java-Bali Fertility Survey; Jeanne Sinquefield, Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

"Patterns and Perceptions of Menstruation", W.H.O., Geneva, Human Reproduction Unit, and Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia, Jakarta; survey leaders: Mely Tan and T. Omas Ihromi; findings for 10 countries to be coordinated and published by Geneva; local survey results to be published in Jakarta.

"The Social Aspects of Economic Development in Indonesia", anthropological investigation of effects of mining on villages around a nickel mine; includes information on how women take over responsibilities of farming when men go off to the mines around Saroako, Sulawesi Selatan; Kathryn M. Robinson, dissertation for Australian National University, Canberra.

"Women in the Batik Industries: changes in employment opportunities and working conditions in connection with the competition of large scale textile factories"; research for M.A. thesis of Saskia Wieringa, University of Amsterdam.

"Community-Oriented Family Planning, Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice in East Java"; the inter-relationships between social factors which influence community knowledge, attitudes, and practice of health principles and family planning; National Health Institute, Surabaya, Dr. R. H. Pardoko, project leader.

"Women's Role in Agricultural Production, and in Obtaining Income for the Family"; the size of women's contribution to family income; how much mobility they have in finding employment in their village area as compared to outside, and in comparison with men; Social Sciences Research Institute, Universitas & IKIP Kristen, Satya Wacana University, Salatiga, 1978.

"Investigations of Effectiveness of Marriage Law 1/1974 in Regulating the Minimum Age of Marriage", Faculty of Law team, University of Airlangga, Surabaya.

"Balinese Women Who Run Away From Their Husbands" (Wanita Bali Lari dari Suaminya), explorative study, data collected in 1972 in process of being re-analyzed because regarded as inadequate; hope to complete and revise in 1978, Faculty of Law, Airlangga University, Surabaya.

"Social and Economic Factors affecting Fertility Patterns in an Upland Village in Malang Regency, East Java"; research also includes data on infant and child care, and feeding practices; Dra. Hans Palte-Gooszen, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Brawidjaja, Malang.

"Fertility Behavior of Madurese Women", Anke Niehof, Dept. of Anthropology, Nijmejen University, Netherlands.

Social and cultural factors which influence fertility behavior, acceptance, and continuance of contraception, research sponsored at many institutes and university faculties by Indonesian Family Planning Program (BKKBN).

"Sexual Behavior of Lower Socio-Economic Groups in Indonesia", research to provide helpful information for effective family planning, Dra. Anne Kastanaya, principal investigator, Bandung School of Social Welfare.

"Technology, Women and Rural Development", Dra. Anne Kastanaya, Bandung School of Social Welfare, and team from Bandung Institute of Technology.

"Birth-spacing and Perinatal Mortality in Bandung", Dr. Anna Alisjahbana, supervisor, and doctor-residents specializing in pediatrics, Padjajaran University, sample of 730 mothers in Bandung. This is part of a collaborative study, sponsored by the Institute of Child Health, London, sampling birth-spacing in countries all over the world.

"Participation of Rural women in Development", Department of Agriculture in collaboration with Research Center, Department of Social Affairs, Jakarta.

"The Role of Women Volunteers in Social Welfare Agency Activities", a study of the characteristics of women volunteers, Research Center, Department of Social Affairs, Jakarta.

#### ACTION RESEARCH AND PROJECTS

"An Action-Oriented Study of the Role of Women in Rural Development", to train extension workers to analyze the contributions of household members, and to increase women's agricultural and non-agricultural productivity through the introduction of appropriate technology; Project Directors: T. Scarlett Epstein, Ir. Pudjiwati Sajogyo, and Ranjit Senaratne (two women students, already have been sent for training at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Great Britain.)

"Pilot Extension Program for Transmigration Settlement Schemes", action-oriented pilot project for agricultural extension workers to enable them to identify and satisfy training and farm equipment needs of women settles in Pematang Panggang, Sumatra, FAO/TCP project.

"Technological Change and the Condition of Rural Women", ILO (A.S. Bhalla), Geneva, has asked LP<sub>3</sub>ES, Jakarta, to conduct this study which will be oriented towards the potential use of intermediate technology to lighten the burdens of rural women, and to increase their productivity.

"The Community-based Distribution of Contraceptives and Informal Opinion Leaders Project", integrated with abolition of illiteracy, and parasite control, Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association; project for fishing families, near Cerebon, with Perwari; "Income generating for women of Tasikmalays farming families", includes small loans program, establishment of cooperatives, and skill training, with Perwari, Jakarta.

How to relieve the burdens of women, improve their living conditions and income-earning opportunities; pilot project to be conducted in Gunung Kidul and Madura; related to on-going UNICEF program for convergent delivery of services to mothers and children; UNICEF, Ministry of Social Affairs, National Commission on the Status of Women, and Aisyiyah.

Social, cultural, and economic factors influencing fertility behavior, and acceptance of family planning, health, and nutrition principles, and child care advice, research conducted on a continuing basis at Serpong, Tangerang regency, West Java, research station, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia.

"Action Research Project on Community Nutrition in Villages in West Java", action-research to test ways of educating women and mothers about nutritious locally available inexpensive supplements, methods of preparation, linked with supplementary feedings of undernourished children under two years of age in six villages in the regencies of Sukabumi, Bogor, and Krawang, Center for Rural Sociological Research, Bogor Agricultural Institute, team leaders: Prof. Dr. Sajogyo and Ir. Pudjiwati Sajogyo.

"Functional literacy project to abolish illiteracy among women through developing a vocabulary which relates to the teaching of skills in sewing, cooking, and family planning", Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association in cooperation with Australian Freedom from Hunger Foundation; site: Desa Pondok- Jagung, Serpong, Tangerang regency, West Java.

"Training of Mothers in Preventing Blindness through Education in Nutrition and Eye Disease Detection"; Foundation to Prevent Blindness, Jakarta; Faculties of Social Sciences and of Medicine, University of Indonesia, Jakarta; site: Desa Pondok - Jagung, Serpong, Tangerang regency, West Java.

"Exploration of Ways to Improve the Nutrition for Mothers and Children in Madura and East Java", joint project, Faculties of Medicine, Economics, and Law, University of Airlangga, Surabaya: action-research aimed at establishing community-oriented Institute of Nutrition.

Informing women concerning stipulations of Islamic Law which elevate and guarantee their status in the family, and in the community; Aisyiyah, Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

Informal Education for Women; Kowani and Pen-Mas, Department of Education, Jakarta.

Surveys sponsored on the social and legal status of women in order to provide government with recommendations, and to collect information for Indonesian representatives to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, National Commission on the Status of Women, Department of Social Affairs, Jakarta.

"Master plan of operations for a program of services for children in the context of young human resource development in Indonesia 1975-79"; program orientation is towards improving children's physical and mental development, aged 0-18, as well as that of their mothers. Special attention to be given to leadership training, and to activities, which will enable them to fulfill their role in the family and community in an ideal manner, and increase family income; UNESCO, Jakarta.

Research into needs, wishes, and resources of area in which projects implemented for urban and rural women, and youth, in fields of formal and non-formal education, information on new marriage law, incomegeneration, skill and handicraft training, health, family planning, household management, and informing working women of rights and obligations; evaluation of implementation and results of projects; Perwari, Jakarta, 1976-79.

Women's non-formal education program, community development, and leadership project; ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations); site: Indonesia.

# APPENDIX B. <u>LIST OF MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS OF KOWANI</u> (SOURCE: "Status of Women and Family Planning," Appendix 5b, pp 1-4)

#### 1. AISYIAH

The women's section of a large Indonesian Moslem organization MOHAM - MADIAH. It is named after Mohammad's wife. No political affiliation.

#### BARUNAWATI

Association of wives of maritime personnel. (Baruna = maritime, Wati = women, wife)

#### BHAYANGKARI

Association of the wives of the Police force/personnel, including the women employees.

#### 4. BUDI ISTERI

A social organization. (Budi Isteri = virtuous women)

#### 5. DIAN EKAWATI

Association of the wives of personnel of the Department of Information. (Dian = lamp)

#### 6. GERAKAN WANITA MARHAENIS

Women's organization affiliated with the political party PARTAI NASIONALIS INDONESIA (P.N.I.), Indonesian Nationalist Party.

#### 7. GERAKAN WANITA SOSIALIS

Association of socialist women.

### 8. IKATAN BIDAN INDONESIA (I.B.I.)

Association of midwives.

## 9 IDHATA P & K (Ikatan Dharma Wanita Pendidikan & Kebudayaan)

Association of wives of personnel and women personnel of the Department of Education and Culture.

10. I.I.D.I. (Ikatan Isteri Dokter Indonesia)
Association of wives of physicians.

11. I.S.W.I. (Ikatan Sarjana Wanita Indonesia)
University Women's Association.

12. JALASENASTRI

Association of wives of Navy personnel.

13. KELUARGA WARTAWAN

Association of wives of journalists.

14. MUSLIMAAT N.U. (Nandatul Ulama)

Women's association affiliated with the Moslem Political Party, NAH DATUL ULAMA.

15. ORGANISASI WANITA DEPARTEMEN LUAR NEGERI

Organization of wives of personnel and women personnel of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

16. PASI (Pasundan Isteri)

Association of women of Pasundan ( = West Java).

17. P.P.I. (Pemuda Putri Indonesia)

Association of Young Indonesian Women.

18. PERSATUAN ISTERI TEKNISI

Association of wives of technicians.

19. PERSUTUAN WANITA GAMA

Association of wives of GAJAH MADA (GAMA) University's teaching staff and personnel.

20. PERISKA POSTEL (Persatuan Isteri Karyawan Pos dan Telepon)

Association of Postal and Telecommunication personnel.

#### 21. PERSIT KARTIKA CHANDRA KIRANA

Association of Army wives.

#### ' 22. PERTIWI

Association of wives of personnel and women personnel of the Department of the Interior.

#### 23. PERWARI

Association of women of the Republic of Indonesia.

24. P.I.A. ARDYA GARINI

Association of wives of Air Force personnel.

25. PIKAT (Pengasih Ibu Kepada Anak Turunan = Mother's love for her offspring).

An organization of women from North Sulawesi.

26. PIVEKA

Association of wives of veterans.

27. P.O.W.S.A.

Association of women from West Sumatra.

28. PUTRI NARPO WANDOWO

Association of women of the Kraton (Javanese Court in Solo).

29. P.W.K.I. (Persatuan Wanita Kristen Indonesia)

Association of Christian women .

30. RUKUN WANITA INDONESIA (Harmony of women).

A social organization.

`31. SAHATI

Association of women from North Sulawesi.

. 32. WANITA ISLAM

Association of Moslem women.

## 33. WANITA KATHOLIK

Association of Catholic women.

#### 34. WANITA KERETA API

Association of wives of railroad personnel.

#### 35. WANITA KESEHATAN

Association of wives of personnel and women personnel of the Ministry of Health.

# 36. WANITA NASIONAL

Women's association which was affiliated with a now dissolved nationalist party.

#### 37. WANITA PERSAHI

Association of wives of lawyers and women lawyers.

#### 38. WANITA PERTI

Women's section of the Moslem Political Party PERTI.

#### 39. WANITA P.S.I.I. (Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia)

Women's section of the Moslem Political P.S.I.I.

#### 40. WANITA RAKYAT

Women of the People.

#### 41. WANITA TAMAN SISWA

Women's section of the TAMAN SISWA, an educational organization.

# Short description of 10 influential women's organizations.

(Source: "Status of Women and Family Planning"

Appendix 5c, pp 1-13)

# BHAYANGKARI

Date of establishment : 17 August 1949

Members : more than 100,000 members, comprising

wives of Police personnel, women police and female police personnel

Areas covered : all provinces

Activities

Education : 377 Kindergartens in 17 provinces

36 Elementary Schools in 12 provinces 5 Junior Secondary Schools in 2 provinces 1 Senior Secondary School in 1 province 19 Religious/Sunday Schools in 4 provinces

128 Scout groups in 11 provinces 35 Youth Centers in 7 provinces Juvenile Libraries in all branches Vocational Courses in all branches Qur'an reading/Religious courses

Art, physical training (almost all branches)

Health : 5 Maternity Hospitals

Mother and Child Health Center

Social Welfare : Aid to widows of policemen.

Courses on Education for Family Welfare

Family Planning Marriage Counselling

Courses on leadership and management at

national and provincial level

Affiliation : at the national level: Kowani, Koordinasi

Wanita Golkar, GOP T.K.I., NCSW, Dharma Pertiwi (Federation of organizations of wives of the armed forces' personnel) at

the provincial and regency level:

Coordinating Boards (BKOW).

# Bhayangkary and Family Planning:

- 1. A national Conference on the Bhayangkari held in 1970 decided to participate in Family Planning and appointed a project officer.
- 2. Soon the project officer sent instructions to branches all over the country to conduct activities in Family Planning motivation.
- 3. Combined to the 1972 Congress an orientation Course on Family Planning was held, attended by 110 participants.
- 4. Today a Family Planning Clinic is attached to all Maternity Hospitals and Mother and Child Health Centers, (M.C.H.), run by the Bhayangkari.

# 2. PERSIT Kartika Chandra Kirana

Date of establishment : 1945

Members : wives of army personnel

Areas covered : all provinces

Activities

Education : Kindergartens

Elementary schools

Other schools

Various courses: languages, domestic

skills. Scholarships

Economy : cooperatives

Social Welfare : orphanage

aid for widows of army men and her children

Health : M.C.H. Centers

Maternity hospitals

Organization : Upgrading courses on leadership

Affiliation : at the national level: KOWANI, Golkar,

Dharma Pertiwi, GOP T.K.I., NCSW at the provincial level: B.K.O.W.

# PERSIT and Family Planning

- 1. Persit has accepted the concept of Family Planning.
- 2. Orientation courses have been held at the national as well as the provincial/regency level.
- 3. Activities comprise information and motivation.
- 4. A family planning clinic is attached to M.C.H. Centers and Maternity Hospitals run by the PERSIT.

# 3. <u>PERSATUAN WANITA KRISTEN INDONESIA (P.W.K.I.)</u>

# <u>Indonesian Association of Christian Women</u>

Date of establishment : 28 February 1946 in Solo

Members : about 400,000 women (166 branches)

Areas covered : 17 provinces

**Activities** 

Religion : Study the Holy Bible

Prayer Fellowship

Upgrading Courses for members

Volunteering for Religious Teachers

Education : Kindergartens

Vocational Courses (Home making,

handicraft, etc.)

Education for Family Welfare

Social Welfare/Health : Orphanages

Family Planning

Organization : Leadership Courses

Affiliation : at the national level: KOWANI, G.O.P.T.

K.I. NCSW.

at the provincial/regency level: BKOW.

# P.W.K.I. and Family Planning

- 1. The concept of Family Planning was accepted in the IXth Congress of the P.W.K.I. in 1967.
- 2. A program on the implementation of Family Planning was set up by the Xth Congress in 1971.
- 3. In March 1972 an orientation course on Family Planning was arranged in cooperation with the B.K.K.B.N. and the P.P.A. 34 board members of branches in Java and Madura participated in the course.
- 4. In October 1972 a conference was held for PWKI branches of West Irian. On that occasion Family Planning was one of the topics discussed.
- 5. Two M.C.H. Centers in Semarang and two in Purwokerto (Central Java) run by P.W.K.I. conduct activities on Family Planning motivation.
- 6. Currently a Family Planning Clinic in Jakarta is in preparation.
- 7. Branches of the PWKI are active in giving information and motivation on Family Planning.

# 4. <u>IKATAN SARJANA WANITA INDONESIA</u> (I.S.W.I.)

# Indonesian Association of University Women

Date of establishment : 1956

Members : 935 members (17 branches)

Areas covered : 14 provinces

Activities

Permanent : 1) Lembaga Pendidikan Wanita Indonesia,

Jakarta (Institution for Women's

Education)

1.1 secretarial course

1.2 course on fashion designing

2) School of Home Economics (University

level)

Occasional : Organize lectures on various topics

Organize annually a science week

Affiliation

: at the national level: KOWANI, NCSW

at the provincial level: BKOW.

International Federation of University

Women

# I.S.W.I. and Family Planning:

- 1. ISWI has accepted the concept of Family Planning.
- 2. Its members assist activities on Family Planning. Not only on information and motivation but also in the medical field through women physicians.

# 5. GERAKAN WANITA MARHAENIS

Date of establishment

: 14 January 1951 in Jakarta

Members

.

**Activities** 

Politic

- : 1) Try to get as many members as possible appointed in legislative, executive and voluntary bodies.
  - 2) In Parliament and in Provincial and Regency Council of Representatives try to get issued laws and regulations which guarantee the equal status of women.

Education

: Kindergartens ) no exact Elementary schools) data Secondary schools ) available

Vocational schools

Courses on Education for Family Welfare

Lectures on various topics

Organization

: Seminars and upgrading course on

leadership

Affiliation

: Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) at the national level: KOWANI, GOP,

TKI, NCSW

at the local level: BKOW.

# G.W.M. and Family Planning

- 1. The concept of Family Planning is accepted by the G.W.M.
- 2. Today the G.W.M. conducts activities in giving information and motivation to Family Planning.

6. PERWARI (Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia)

Date of establishment

: 17 December 1945

Members

: 181,080 members 210 branches

Areas covered

: 18 provinces

Activities

Education

: 279 Kindergartens

37 Elementary Schools

9 Junior Secondary Schools 6 Teachers Training Colleges 17 Junior Secondary Schools for

Home Economics

5 Senior Secondary Schools for Home

Economics

4 Kindergarten Teachers Training Colleges

Courses on: languages, arts, various skills, management of

organization

Social Welfare

: 9 dormitories for girls

Economy

95 cooperatives

Saving and loan societies

Other activities

Seminar, symposiums, panel discussions,

lectures, workshops, etc., on:

Human Rights, Marriage Law, Family Planning and Family Welfare, the role of women in country development, the role of women in

community development, etc.

Affiliation

: International Alliance of Women, Associated Country Women of the World, Women's Council at the national level: KOWANI, Golkar,

GOP, T.K.I., NCSW

at local levels: B.K.O.W.

# Perwari and Family Planning

- 1. The concept of Family Planning is accepted by Perwari.
- 2. Nowadays the Perwari conducts activities on information and motivation.

## 7. PERTIWI

Date of establishment

: 1945

**Me**mbers

: Female personnel and wives of male

personnel of the Department of Interior.

Areas covered

: all provinces

**Activities** 

Education

: Kindergartens

Elementary Schools

Various courses: languages, domestic skills

Education on Family Welfare

Illiteracy eradication

Economy

: cooperatives

Social Welfare

: Activities supportive to community

development

Health

: M.C.H. Centers

Other activities

: Arts, music

#### PERTIWI and Family Planning

- 1. Pertiwi has accepted the concept of Family Planning.
- 2. An orientation course has been at the national level as well as at the provincial or regency level.
- 3. Branches conduct activities on information and motivation.
- 4. A Family Planning clinic is attached to M.C.H. Centers run by the PERTIWI.

# 8. MUSLIMAT NAHDATUL ULAMA

Date of establishment

: 1946

Members

: approximately 1,000,000 women

370 branches throughout the country

Activities

Religion

: Sessions on Islam

Read and study the Holy Qur'an

Education

: approximately 1000 Kindergartens

675 Elementary Schools (based on Islam) 150 Madrasah (Religious Schools) for girls

5 Teachers Training Colleges

Social Welfare

Dormitory for girls in East Java

Mass circumcision Alms for the poor

M.C.H. Centers ) no exact data

Maternity Hospitals) available

Organization

: Upgrading courses on leadership

Affiliation

: Moslem Political Party Nahdatul Ulama at the national level: Kowani, GOP.

T.K.I., NCSW

Muslimat Nahdatul Ulama and Family Planning

- The concepts of Family Planning are accepted by the Muslimat N.U. as a means to achieve family welfare.
- 2. Activities are focused on information and motivation.
- 3. An orientation course has been held at the national level as well as at the provincial level.
- 4. A Family Planning clinic is attached to M.C.H. Centers and Maternity \* Hospitals run by the Muslimat N.U.

# 9. WANITA KATHOLIK R.I.

Association of Catholic Women

Date of establishment

Members : approximately 500,000 women

503 branches

Areas covered

Activities

Religion : Sessions, lectures

Recruit women volunteers for teaching

Religion in schools

Education : 163 Kindergartens

3 Elementary Schools

2 Junior Secondary Schools for Home

Economics

Health : 3 Maternity Hospitals

60 M.C.H. Centers

Training course for nurses' aid

Social Welfare : Alms for the poor

Economy : Produce ready made clothes shops

Raise poultry

Other activities : The Wanita Katholik has established a

foundation named "Yayasan Dharma Ibu" (Mother's Duty Foundation) which provides scholarships for girls to acquire a skill.

# Wanita Katholik and Family Planning

1. The concept of Family Planning is accepted by the Wanita Katholik.

2. Activities are concentrated on information and motivation.

3. A Family Planning clinic is attached to Maternity Hospitals and M.C.H. Centers run by the Wanita Katholik.

10. AISYIAH

Date of establishment

: 1912

Members

: 250,000 members registered

Areas covered

all provinces

Activities

Religion

: Sessions on Islam

Reading and studying the Qur'an

Education

: 2032 Kindergartens

44 Elementary Schools

12 Junior Secondary Schools for

Home Economics

3 Senior Secondary Schools for

Home Economics

24 Teachers Training Schools

70 Madrasah (Religious Elementary Schools) 24 Diniah (Religious Secondary Schools) 6 Training Institutions for Midwives

and Nurses.

l Academy on Arabic language Functional literacy program Courses on domestic skills

Social Welfare

13 Homes for the poor

91 Orphanages Alms for the poor Mass circumcision

Health

5 Maternity Hospitals

65 M.C.H. Centers 116 Polyclinics

Affiliation

: Islam social organization: MOHAMADIAH

at the national level: KOWANI, NCSW,

GOP, T.K.I.

at the local level: B.K.O.W.

# Aisyiah and Family Planning

- In 1970 the <u>Majlis Tarjeh</u> (Highest Board on Religion) accepted the concept of Family Planning but put emphasis on the aspect of Family Welfare.
- 2. In 1971 the Central Board issued instructions to branches all over the country to implement Family Planning.
- 3. An orientation course has been held on Family Planning at the national as well as provincial level.
- 4. In 1971 it was decided that family planning programs should have one of the highest priorities.
- 5. Population Education is made compulsory to be interwoven in talks and lectures on any topic.
- 6. Since 1972 the Aisyiah is certified to conduct experiments on Population Education in formal education. Today it has four Teachers Training Schools as demonstration projects.
- 7. Currently a Family Planning Clinic is attached to 40% of the M.C.H. Centers run by the Aisyiah.

APPENDIX C: BIBLIOGRAPHY

# Explanation of Bibliography for Profile on Indonesian Women

# Spelling equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia

<u>New</u>	01d
.,	
u	0 <b>e</b>
С	tj
j	dj
y	j
kh	cĥ

# Alphabetizing Exception

All names containing "oe" following an initial consonant are alphabetized as if the "oe" were a "u".

# <u>Abbreviations</u>

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AA - FIS = Abstract/Summary available at FIS, UI.
AES = Agro-Economic Survey, IPB/Dept. of Agriculture
A/D/C = Agricultural Development Council
A.F.S.C. = American Friends Service Committee
B.I.E.S. = Bulletin Indonesian Economic Studies
BKTKWI = Badan Kontak Tenaga Kerja Wanita Indonesia, Jakarta (Contact
         Body for the Women's Labor Force)
BPPS = Balai Penelitian dan Peninjauan Sosial (Research and Social
- Survey Institute), Dep. Sosial, Yogyakarta CBS = Central Bureau of Statistics
DI = Demographic Institute
ECAFE = Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, U.N., Bangkok
FE = Faculty of Economics, UI
F.E.E.R. = Far Eastern Economic Review
FH = Fakultas Hukum (Faculty of Law), UI
FKIP = Teachers Training College
FES = Friederich Ebert Stiftung (F.E. Foundation)
FIS = Faculty of Social Sciences, UI
FP = Faculty of Psychology, UI
GMU = Gadjah Mada Univ., Yogyakarta
HRAF = Human Relations Area Files (Yale Univ.)
IKIP = Instituut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan = Teachers Training Institute
ILO = Int'l Labor Office, U.N., Geneva
IPB = Instituut Pertanian Bogor (Bogor Institute of Agriculture)
I.P.P.A. = Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association
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- K.N.K.W.I. = Komisi Nasional Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia = Indonesian National Commission on the Status of Women
- KOWANI = Kongres Wanita Indonesia = Indonesian Women's Congress
- KWGP = Koordinasi Wanita Golkar Pusat (Central Coordinating Body of the Women's Functional Groups
- LEKNAS = Lembaga Ekonomi dan Kemasyarakatan Nasional (National Institute of Economic and Social Research)
- LIPI = Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of Sciences
- LPEM, PE = Lembaga Penyeledikan Ekonomi dan Masyarakat (Institute of Economic and Social Research, Faculty of Economics, UI)
- LPSD = Lembaga Penelitian Sosiologi Pedesaan (Institute/Center for Rural Sociological Research, IPB
- M.O.G.I. = Majalah Obsteri dan Ginekologi (Jakarta) = Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology
- N.E.O., A.F.S.C. = New Economic, American Friends Service Committee NLKOGIK = Naskah Lengkap Kongres Obstetri Ginekologi Indonesia Ketiga 1976 (Proceedings of 3rd Indonesian Congress of Obstetrics and Gynecology, 1976)
- PDK = Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan = Dept. of Education and Culture PI = Population Institute, GMU
- PPKGI = Panitia Pelaksa Kongres Ginekologi Indonesia (Steering Committee of the Indonesia Gynecology Congress)
- P.R. & W.E.T. = Pacific Research & World Empire Telegram
- RDS = Rural Dynamic Study, Bogor, IPB/Dept. of Agriculture
- S/SEA = South/Southeast Asia Library Service, U.C., Berkeley
- SW = Satya Wacana Univ. & IKIP Kristen, Salatiga
- UI = University of Indonesia, Jakarta
- YI = Yayasan Idayu private extensive library, Jakarta
- YTKI = Yayasan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Indonesian Labor Force Foundation)

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Author meturned to village of Sriharjo, Yogyakarta, in 1973-74, which had been surveyed by Singarimbun & Manning in 1969-70; collects some of same data on fertility and divorce, and makes comparisons with this earlier survey, as well as with V. Hull's surveys of Maguworharjo, Yogyakarta. Does not find evidence for similar "simple and clear patterns." Concludes that in a simple rural setting levels of fertility are not significantly affected by marital instability, nor by differences in socioeconomic status and educational levels.

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Sensus Penduduk 1971 (Estimates of Fertility and Mortality in

Indonesia based on the 1971 Population Census). Jakarta: CBS.

Using "own children" method, age specific and total fertility rates are calculated from 1971 Census data, cross-tabulated with statistics on education, and occupation of mother and

head of household, and localized to urban and rural Kabupaten (regency) levels throughout Indonesia. Estimates of infant mortality are related to educational attainment of mother, and localized to rural, urban, and island populations. Life expectancy estimates are localized to urban and rural province-level populations.

- Collier, Wm., Gunawan Wiradi, and Soentoro, 1973. "Recent Changes in Rice Harvesting Methods; Some Serious Social Implications," B.I.E.S., IX, No. 2 (July 1973)
- Collier, Wm., Soentoro, Gunawan W., and Makali, 1974a. "Agricultural Technology and Institutional Change in Java," Food Research Institute Studies, XIII, No. 2 (1974) (Edited version of same authors' "Tebasan, HYV'S and Rural Change.")

A description of the "explosive change" brought about in Java through the re-introduction of an infrequently used method of harvesting, tebesan, whereby a middleman buys up the harvest a week before harvesting. At harvest, an all male team, wielding steel scythes is used. Thereby, the subsistence shares of rice which poor women depended upon for the largest part of their yearly income is lost to them.

Collier, Wm., Jusuf Colter, Sinarhadi, and Robert d"a. Shaw, 1974b. "Choice of Technique in Rice Milling: A Comment," <u>B.I.E.S.</u>, X, No. 1 (March 1974)

Specific information and estimates of the effects of mechanical rice hullers on welfare of former women rice-pounders.

Collier, Wm. and Soentoro, 1974c. "Allocation of Labor and Sources of Income," Jakarta: Agro-Economic Survey, October 1974.

Proposal that research needed on poor women's resort to off-farm labor, where work hours are long, affecting her own and her family's welfare.

- Collier, Wm., 1976. "Agricultural Evolution in Java: The Decline of Shared Poverty and Involution." Bogor: IPB (to be published in Agricultural Development in Indonesia, edited by Gary Hanson).
- Collier, Wm., Harjadi Hadikoesworo, and Suwardi Saropie, 1977a. <u>Income</u>, <u>Employment, and Food Systems in Javanese Coastal Villages</u>. Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univ. Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program.
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- Collier, Wm., 1977. "Technology and Peasant Production: A Comment." Development and Change, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July 1977).

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- Cooley, Frank L. 1962. Ambonese Adat: A General Description, Cultural Report Series No. 10, New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Univ.
- Covarrubias, Miguel, 1938. Island of Bali, New York: A.A. Knopf.

Information on all aspects of Balinese Women's lives, passim.

Cunningham, Clark E., 1958. <u>The Postwar Migration of the Toba-Bataks</u> to East Sumatra, Cultural Report Series No. 5, New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Univ.

Position of women in Toba-Batak society, and role in production for household consumption and for income, passim.

Dewey, Alice G., 1962. <u>Peasant Marketing in Java</u>, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Excellent account of women's predominant role in small-scale trading in East Central Java, and their work in food preparation. Comprehensive description of informal credit institutions for traders, as well.

Di Tangan Wanita (In Women's Hands), Pidato (Speeches) Bahder Djohan, Stien Adam, Tahun 1926, Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu, 1975.

Speeches delivered at Youth Congress in 1926 on the situation of women in Indonesian society, and on the education and rights of Minahasa women.

ECAFE, United Nations Regional Consultation for Asia and the Far East on Integration of Women in Development with Special Reference to Population Factors, Bangkok: 13-17 May, 1974.

Calls for integrated rather than separate development programs; need to monitor progress of integration of women in development; women need education, jobs, family planning, agricultural training; and credit facilities.

Edmundson, Wade, 1973. "Land Food, and Work in Three Javanese Villages," Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Hawaii.

Includes time allocation studies.

"Education for Girls and Women," An Asian Model of Educational Development: Perspectives for 1965-80, Paris, UNESCO, 1966.

Discussion of problems and suggested solutions to improve access to a full education.

Ehrenfels, U.R., 1954. The Anthropological Background of Matrilineal Societies," Status of Women in South Asia, Dr. A Appadorai, ed., Bombay: Orient Longmans for UNESCO and Asian Relations Org.

Matrilineal societies like the Minangkabau do not socially subjugate men to the same extent women are subjugated in patrilineal societies.

- ESCAP/FAO/ILO, 1977. Expert Group Meeting on Rural Institutions
  Serving Small Farmers: Final Report. Tokyo: Intergovernmental
  Group Meeting, February 1977.
- Fertility Levels of Women from a Variety of Personal, Social, Economic and Educational Conditions, Yogyakarta: Social Research Center, Department of Social Affairs, 1971.
- Flores, Pura, 1970. "The Education of Women in Asia," <u>The Educational Dilemma of Women in Asia</u>, Alma de Jesus-Viardo, ed., Manila: Philippine Women's University.
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Some details of women's work on Roti, Timor, Suma and Sawo.

Geertz, Clifford, 1963. <u>Peddlers and Princes</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Short discussions describing involvement of women in garment-making putting-out system, in running a bean curd factory in Central Java, and in a weaving factory in Bali.

Geertz, Clifford, 1965. The Social History of an Indonesian Town, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Passim references to women in trade, handicraft, and politics in an East Central Javanese town.

- Geertz, Hildred, 1961. <u>The Javanese Family</u>, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. Study of intrafamily dynamics of a Central Javanese nuclear family.
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Good overview of structure of Indonesian communities from an anthropological viewpoint which presents the setting for Indonesian women's lives.

- Geertz, Hildred, 1964. "Introduction," <u>Letters of a Javanese Princess</u>, translated by Agnes Louise Symmers, New York: W.W. Norton.
- Geertz, Hildred and Clifford, 1975. <u>Kinship in Bali</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago.

Gejala Migrasi dipandang dari Tempat Asal dan dari Tempat Tujuan (Migration phenomena viewed from the place of origin and place of destination). 1977. Salatiga LPIS.

Young women as well as young men migrate for non-economic as well as economic reasons and invariably improve their status in the city or on its periphery.

- Gille, H. and R.H. Pardoko, 1966. "Family Life Study in East Java: Preliminary Findings," <u>Family Planning and Population Programs</u>, Bernard Berelson et al., Chicago, University of Chicago.
- Ginnekan, Wouter va. 1976. <u>Rural and Income Inequalities in Indonesia</u>, <u>Mexico, Pakistan, Tanzania, and Tunisia</u>. Geneva, ILO.

Data drawn from 1969/70 SUSENAS data.

- Goenawan Mohaman, 1975. "An Indroduction to the Contemporary Indonesia Cinema." <u>Prisma</u> (Jakarta), I. 1 (May 1975).
- Goethals, Peter, 1961. Aspects of Local Government in a Sumbawan Village (Eastern Indonesia), Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.

Includes two case studies demonstrating the way village authorities treat marriage, divorce, and illegitimacy in an Islamic village practicing swidden agriculture.

- Gouwgioksiong (s. Gautama), 1965. "The Marriage and Divorce Laws of Indonesia", Comparison of the Laws Relating to Marriage and Divorce, Miyasaki Kojiro, ed., Tokyo: Keiso-Shobo.
- Haar, B. ter, 1962. Adat Law in Indonesia, translated and edited by A. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller, Djakarta: Bhratara.

This study of customary law discusses the effects of ceremonial, political, social and legal traditions of the men and women who make up the various ethnic groups of the archipelago. Land ownership, inheritance, marriage and divorce are covered as well as civil and Islamic law. (cf. Hornick).

"Habis Gelap Terbitlah Uang" (After Darkness Money Emerges), <u>Tempo</u>, (27 October 1973).

This article reveals the kinds of trade and enterprises women are operating, and the adjustments their households make when they earn more money than their husbands.

Hadiati Koeswadji, Hermien, 1972. "Law and Development: The Legal Status of Women in Indonesia, Their Role and Challenge in Creating a New National Law", paper presented to Seminar on Comparative Jurisprudence, University of California, Berkeley, School of Law.

- Hanafiah, Mohd. Jusuf, R.M. Kaban, Ngarap Dat Tarigan, 1976a.

  "Kematian Bersalin di RSUPP Medan (Perbandingan Lima Tahun I dan II)" (Maternal Mortality at the Provincial Central General Hospital- Medan (Two Consequtive Five-Year Comparisons) NLKOGIK, Medan: PPKGI.
- Hanafiah, Mohd. Jusuf, J.H. Hutagalung, Namyo Hutapea, A. Halim Nasution, Mohd. Thamrin Tanjung, and Anwar Siregar, 1976b. "Aspek Sosial Wanita Tuna Susila di Medan dan Sekitarnya" (Social Aspects of Prostitution in Medan and Surroundings). NLKOGIK Medan: PPKGI.
- Harahap, M. Yahya, undated. <u>Hukum Perkawinan Nasional</u> (The National Marriage Law).

Discusses basis for marriage, rights and obligations, and situation of children as well as Law No. 1, 1974.

Hart, Gillian, 1976a. "Labor Allocation, Income and Consumption in a Javanese Village," Bogor: Agro-Economics Survey.

In addition to subjects listed in title, demonstrates direct relationship between class status and school attendance in children over ten years of age.

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Hart, Gillian, 1977. Patterns of Household Labor Allocation in a Javanese Village. Ithaca: Cornell University, Department of Agricultural Economics, February 1977.

Same as Hart, 1976b.

Hart, Gillian, 1978. <u>Labor Allocation Strategies in Rural Javanese</u>
<u>Households</u>. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Agricultural Economics,
Cornell University.

Interaction of economic and welfare factors on labor supply decisions in North Coast Java fishing families; includes information on relative amounts of time and income earned by women from families with different amounts of land and capital assets.

Hawkins, Everett D., 1961. "The Batik Industry: The Role of the Javanese Entrepreneur", Entrepreneurship and Labor Skills in Indonesian Economic Development: A Symposium, New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph No. 1, Yale University.

Historical survey of the development of the batik industry and participation of women as workers and entrepreneurs.

Heeren, H.J., 1955. "The Urbanization of Djakarta," reprint from Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia, VII, No. 11 (November 1955).

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A Classified Bibliography of English Language Materials on
Indonesian Law through 1972, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Law School
Library.

Indonesian women's legal status is discussed particularly under civil law, Islamic law, and <u>adat</u>. <u>Adat</u> contains ethnographic information on the status of Indonesian women in all important ethnic groups, in all important life cycle situations (cf. B. ter Haar).

- Hudson, Alfred B., 1972. <u>Padju Epat: the Ma'anyan of Indonesian Borneo</u>, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hull, Terence H., 1975. <u>Each Child Brings Its Own Fortune: An Inquiry into the Value of Children in a Javanese Village</u>, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Demography, Australia National University, Canberra.
- Hull, Terence H., 1976a. The Influence of Social Class on the Need and Effective Demand for Children in a Javanese Village, Yogyakarta: PI, GMU. Prepared for the Conference on the Social and Economic Supports for High Fertility, Canberra, 16-18 Nobember 1976.

Analyzes relative contributions of children and costs of raising them for the rich and the poor; gives some information on importance of girls' work contributions in poor families in household maintenance and child care.

Hull, Terence H. 1976b. "Rapid Fertility Decline: A Comment," B.I.E.S. XII, No. 2 (July 1976).

Discusses dubious reliability of family planning statistics due to faulty data collection techniques.

Hull, Terence H., 1977a. Measuring Socio-economic Differences in Child Survivorship in Indonesia, Yogyakarta: PI,GMU. Paper presented for the 17th General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Mexico City, August 8-13, 1977.

Higher economic level women not only have higher fertility than poor women, but higher rates of child survivorship, and therefore, larger families. Poor women's children not only die in greater numbers, but they also leave the family to seek work.

Hull, Terence H., 1977b. A Review of Research on the Price, Cost, and Value of Children in Indonesia, Yogyakarta, PI, GMU. Paper prepared for workshop on "Costs of Children," Pattaya, Thailand, June 7-11, 1977.

A coordination of information from studies on the value of children in Java in relation to costs of raising them to determine the functionality of fertility levels in low, medium, and upper income rural families.

- Hull, Terrence H. and Tukiran, 1976. "Regional Variations in the Prevalence of Childlessness in Indonesia." The Indonesian Journal of Geography (GMU), vol. 6, no. 32 (December 1976).
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A comparative discussion of traditional and transitional values which have supported high fertility in Central Java, particularly among rural elite.

Hull, Terence H. and Valerie J., 1977. "The Relation of Economic Class and Fertility: An Analysis of Some Indonesian Data," <a href="Population Studies">Population Studies</a>, 31,1 (March 1977).

On the basis of research in Maguwoharjo, Yogyakarta, concludes that contrary to prevailing demographic theory, poor women have lower fertility than better-off women, that there is a positive relation of fertility to higher educational level, which also reflects higher economic class; debunks "memory lapse" theory for poor illiterate women reporting lower fertility.

Hull, Terence H., Valerie J. Hull, and Masri Singarimbun, 1977. <u>Indonesia's Family Planning Program: Background, Achievements, Challenges</u>, (draft) Yogyakarta: PI,GMU, July 15, 1977.

Comprehensive evaluation of achievements which are most impressive in East Java and Bali, and some of the anomalies.

Hull, Valerie J., 1975. Fertility, Socioeconomic Status, and the Position of Women in a Javanese Village, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra.

Results of a year-long study drawing on data collected in a multi-stage survey over 1,300 households combined with more intensive anthropological approaches.

Hull, Valerie J., 1976 a. <u>The Positive Relation Between Economic Class and Family Size in Java</u>, Yogyakarta, PI,GMU.

Recapitulation of main points of research mentioned above. Gives reasons why poor have smaller families than middle and upper class families. Notes that modern improvements in services may reduce differentials in the future.

Hull, Valerie J., 1976b. <u>Women in Java's Rural Middle Class: Progress or Regress?</u> Yogyakarta: PI, GMU. Paper prepared for the Fourth World Congress for Rural Sociology, August 1976, Poland.

The creation of a rural middle class of women in Maguwoharjo village, Yogyakarta, as a result of improved educational opportunity, has not improved their position in the family nor participation in the labor force, since they are less independent and more home-and-family centered than poorer women.

- Hull, Valerie J., 1977. A Study of Birth Interval Dynamics in Rural Java, Yogyakarta: PI, GMU. Paper prepared for Conference on Nutrition and Reproduction, National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland, February 13-16, 1977.
- Hull, Valerie J., Kodiran, and Ir. Singarimbun, 1976. <u>Pembentukan</u>
  <u>Keluarga Diklangan Universitas</u> (Family Formation in the University
  <u>Community</u>). Yogyakarta: PI, GMU (AA-FIS).

Investigation of fertility behavior of university faculty. Discusses reasons for lower fertility.

- Ihromi, T. Omas, 1975. "Social and Cultural Background of Concepts of Roles of Women: Reflections on the Indonesian Scene", Ecumenical Review, 27 (October 1975).
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Results of attitudinal survey conducted in rural and urban sites in seven geographical areas. Attitudes toward family planning, modern changes in roles and opportunities of women. Review of cultural, legal, and organizational history, accomplishments of women's organizations. Extensive bibliography of works in Bahasa, Dutch, and English. Includes Mely G. Tan's "The Social and Cultural Context of Family Planning in Indonesia."

Indonesia, Republic of, 1975. "Answers to Check-List Summarizing the Various Policy Objectives and Targets for Use in Over-All Appraisals at the National, Regional or International Level" in relation to Programme of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women and Their Integration in Development (Resolution 2626 (XXV) and 2716 (XXV), New York: Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations, 1975.

Discussion of Indonesian women's rights and roles, plus concise review of positive and negative effects of scientific and technological change on women.

Indonesia, Republic of, 1975. <u>Country Report - Indonesia</u>, prepared for International Women's Year 1975 by the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations.

Comprehensive survey of women's movement, women's legal, social, and economic status, opportunities and rights, plus women's accomplishments and activities in various fields of endeavor.

- Indonesia, Republic of, 1977. Hasil Evaluasi Tingkat Perkembangan Desa di Seluruh Indonesia Keadaan Tahun 1976/1977 (Results of evaluation of the level of development in villages throughout Indonesia according to their condition in 1976/1977). Jakarta: Department of the Interior.
- Indonesia, Republic of, 1974. <u>Indikator Sosial/Social Indicators</u>, Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1974.

Social statistics of various ministries of the government of Indonesia.

Indonesia, Republic of, 1972. <u>Sensus Penduduk 1971/1971 Population</u>
<u>Census; Tabel-Tabel Pendahuluan/Advance Tables; Angka Sementara/Preliminary Figures, Serie C, Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik,
July 1972.</u>

This is a 10% sample processing of a sample census, except for D.K.I. Jakarta, and D.I. Yogyakarta which were completely processed.

Indonesia, Republic of, 1975. <u>Sensus Penduduk 1971/1971 Population</u> Census, Seri D, Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, March 1975.

This is a 100% computer-processed sample of the 1971 Census covering the whole of Indonesia, except the rural population of Irian Jaya (Serie B covers the whole of Indonesia by region, but was hand-processed.)

- Indonesia, Republic of, 1961. <u>Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia 1961</u>, Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1961.
- Indonesia, Republic of, 1973. <u>Statistik Indonesia/Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia 1974/1975</u>, Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1975.

Covers aims and objectives of Indonesia's women's movement.

Indonesia, Republic of, 1976. <u>Women and Employment in Indonesia</u>, by Nana Soerya Atmadja and Pgf. Simandjtuntak, a Country Paper prepared for the ASEAN Meeting on Women and Employment, Kuala Lumpur, 2-5 November 1976, Jakarta: Department of Manpower, Transmigration and Cooperatives, November 1, 1976.

Up-to-date information on women's employment in various sectors of the economy.

Indonesia, Republic of, 1968. <u>Women's Movement in Indonesia/The</u>
<u>Indonesian Women's Movement</u>, Djakarta: Department of Information,
February 1968.

Survey of women's movement and women's accomplishments from an official point of view.

- Indonesia, University of, Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, Preliminary Report, Indonesian Fertility-Mortality Survey 1973, (West Java, March 1974), (Central Java, August 1974), (East Java, October 1974), (Bali, 1974), (Sulawesi, December 1974), and (Sumatra, January 1975).
- Indonesia, University of, Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, "Development of Social Characteristics of the Indonesian Population," Pustaka Universitas, No. 55 (February 1974).

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- "Indonesia", World Survey of Education, III, New York: UNESCO, 1961.
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- IPPA, <u>Draft Report of the KAP Survey</u>, Jakarta: 1968.

Discusses effect of structural variables on fertility.

IPPA, <u>Legal Aspects of Family Planning in Indonesia</u>, Medford, Mass: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Law and Population Programme, 1972.

Comprehensive information on women's legal status.

Iskander, N., 1976. <u>Demographic Profile of the Indonesian Population</u> (based on the 1971 Census), Jakarta: DI,FE, UI.

Based on Serie D, 1971 Census, and utilizing cross tabulations by sex, provides analysis of population composition, urban-rural distribution, age structure, marital status, literacy, religion, education, employment, migration, fertility, mortality, and life expectancy.

- Iskander, N. and Gavin W. Jones, 1977. "Effect of Infant and Child Mortality on Subsequent Fertility in Indonesia", Monograph No. 5, Indonesia Fertility-Mortality Survey, Jakarta: DI,FE,UI.
- Ismael, J.E., 1960. <u>Keadaan Penduduk di Duapuluh Tiga Desa di Djawa</u> (The Situation of the Inhabitants in Twenty-three Villages in Java), Jakarta: Lembaga Penjelidikan Ekonomi dan Masjarakat, Universitas Indonesia.

A fertility-related survey.

- Istutiah Gunawan and J. Banunaek, 1968. "Peranan Faktor Sosial-Budaya dalam Gangguan-Gangguan Diiwa pada Orang Minangkabau" (The Role of Social-Cultural Factors in Psychological Disturbances among the Minangkabau People). <u>Djiwa Majalah Psikiatri</u> (Jakarta), April 1968.
- Jaspan, M.A., 1961. <u>Social Stratification and Social Mobility in</u> Indonesia, Djakarta: Gunung Agung.

Concise annotated bibliography of publications written in Dutch, Bahasa Indonesia, and English on subjects of title, some of which contain information on women.

Jay, Robert, 1969. Javanese Villagers, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Discusses central role of women in family, decision-making, financial management, as well as in small-scale trade.

Jayawardena, Chandra., 1977. "Women and Kinship in Aceh Besar, Northern Sumatra," <a href="Ethnology">Ethnology</a>, XVI, 1 (January 1977).

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Jones, G.W., 1975. "Publication review" of Demographic Institute's, University of Indonesia, Preliminary Report, Indonesian Fertility-Mortality Survey 1973, and of Peter F. McDonald et al's Level and Trends in Fertility and Childhood Mortality in Indonesia, B.I.E.S. (November 1975) XI, No. 3.

Jones, Gavin W., 1977. "Fertility Levels and Trends in Indonesia", Population Studies, 31,1 (March 1977).

Summary and comparative analysis of fertility information derived from 1971 Census and 1973 Indonesia Fertility-Mortality Survey.

Jones, Gavin, and Bondan Supraptilah, 1976. "Underutilization of Labour in Palembang and Ujung Pandang," B.I.E.S., XII, No. 2 (July).

Tentative results of survey show higher unemployment for those with secondary than primary education, particularly for women.

- Jones, Rebecca, 1976. "Satellite Communications; Indonesia's Bitter Fruit," P.R.&W.E.T., VII, No. 4 (May-June 1976).
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Comprehensive discussion of matrilineal Minangkabau of West Sumatra highlighting growing tendency to form bilateral nuclear families headed by the husband.

Jusuf, Naftuchah, 1970. "The Education of Women in Developing Countries: Focus on Indonesia," <u>The Educational Dilemma of Women in Asia</u>, Alma de Jesus-Viardo, ed., Manila: Philippine Women's University.

Discusses social, economic, communications, and educational limitations in Indonesia which prevent girls from obtaining as much schooling as boys.

- Kana, N.L., 1975. "The Village Community and Its Adaptation to Outside Influences: A Prospect Based on Research in Central Java." Prisma (Jakarta), I, 1 (May 1975).
  - Kartini, Raden Adjeng, Letters of a Javanese Princess, preface by Eleanor Roosevelt, edited and with an introduction by Hildred Geertz, translated by Agnes Louise Symmers, New York: W.W. Norton, 1964. Also published in Bahasa Indonesia as Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang (After Darkness Comes the Light), Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1951; and in Dutch as Door Duisternis tot Licht (From Darkness to Light), edited by H.H. Abendanon, 1911.

Kartini's letters to a Dutch feminist explaining her own plight, and that of other aristocratic Indonesian women, as a result of seclusion, forced marriage, and polygamy. She expresses her wish that modern educational opportunities be extended to Indonesian women so they could become better mothers, and be able to choose their own careers and be economically independent if they needed it.

Kartini, Raden Adjeng. "Educate the Javanese!", (Geef den Javan Opvoeding), translated by Jean Taylor, <u>Indonesia</u>, No. 17, (April 1974).

Answers questions put by colonial official in 1902 concerning recommendations for education. Recommends educating the nobility so they can, in turn, educate the people and rule in a more enlightened manner. Yet, ultimately, she felt educational benefits must be given to all Indonesians, including women, or the nobility would use it to enhance their own position.

Kartowijono, Sujatin, 1975. <u>Perkembangan Pergerakan Wanita Indonesia</u> (The Development of the Indonesian Women's Movement), Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu.

Lecture which touches on emerging problems of keeping the women's movement going when there are some women organized in terms of their husband's work, others in terms of their own profession, and still others which are feminist organizations.

Katz, June S. and Ronald S. Katz, 1975. "The New Indonesian Marriage Law: A Mirror of Indonesia's Political, Cultural, and Legal Systems," American Journal of Comparative Law, 23, No. 4 (Fall 1975).

An excellent comprehensive summary and analysis of the social, political, religious, and judicial factors, rivalries, and compromises which had to be made to enable passage of Indonesia's first national marriage law in 1974.

- Ketut Sudhana Astika, 1977. <u>Social and Economic Effects of New Rice</u>
  <u>Technology: Preliminary Results of a Case Study in Abiansemal, Bali</u>,
  Jakarta, Department of Anthropology, U.I.
- Klasifikasi dan Typologi Desa Desa di Seluruh Indonesia (Classification and Typology of Villages Throughout Indonesia), 1972. Jakarta:

  Department of the Interior, Directorate General for the Development of Village Society.
- Koesnoe, Moh., 1976. "Kedudukan Wanita menurut Adat Kasus beberapa desa di Madura" (The Status of Women According to Adat, Especially in Several Madurese Villages), <u>Jurnal Penelitian Sosial</u> (Jakarta, U.I.), No. 2, I (May 1976)(AA-FIS).
- Koentjaraningrat, 1961. <u>Some Socio-Anthropological Observations of Gotong Rojong Practices in Two Villages of Central Java, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Ithaca: Cornell University.</u>

Analysis of types of gotong royong (mutual cooperation), and the frequency with which it is undertaken. Includes workdiaries of village women and men.

Koentjaraningrat, 1975. "Population Mobility in Villages around Jakarta," B.I.E.S., XI, No. 2 (July 1975).

Information on women migrants and their occupations in Jakarta.

- Koentjaraningrat, ed., 1967. <u>Villages in Indonesia</u>, Ithaca: Cornell University.
- Kolf, G.H. van der, 1936. The Historical Development of the Labour Relationships in a Remote Corner of Java as they apply to the Cultivation of Rice, Batavia: National Council for the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

An excellent case study based on interviews with villagers in 1926. Concerned with land shortages and pressures of modernization which force women to turn to off-farm labor to meet their needs.

Kusuma, Sutarsih Mulia - see Muliakusuma.

Lauw Tjin Giok, Ignatius Tarwoto, Djokosaptono and Rochani Rasidi (Pudjiwati Sajogyo), 1962. A Study of the Nutritional Status at Two Economic Levels in Tjiwalen and Amansari Villages of West Java, paper presented at the Second National Congress of Sciences, Jogjakarta, October 21-28, 1962.

Lower caloric and nutrient intake of poor adult women is closer to children ages 10-12 than to men.

Leimena, J., 1956. <u>Public Health in Indonesia: Problems and Planning</u>, The Hague/Djakarta: G.C.T. van Dorp.

Analysis of problems and gaps in programs, personnel, and infrastructure in relation to areas of greatest medical need for certain population groups and specific types of patients.

Lev, Daniel, 1972. <u>Islamic Courts in Indonesia</u>, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Some information on women in relation to divorce and inheritance.

Loehoer Wd. Adhinegara, 1976. "Beberapa Masalah Pembangunan Pedesaan" (Several Problems in Village Development), <u>Cakrawala Majalah</u>
<u>Penelitian Sosial</u>, (Salatiga, SW) No. 2, IX, September-October 1976.

Madavo, Callisto Eneas, 1976. "Uncontrolled Settlements," <u>Finance and</u> Development (March 1976).

Discusses World Bank programs to upgrade urban slums and squatter settlements in Zambia and Indonesia. Includes discussion of community services of benefit to women and children.

Mangemba, Hamzah Daeng, 1975. "Le Statut des Femmes Bugis et Makasar Vu par Leurs Propres Societes" (The Status of Buginese and Makassar Women as seen by their own Societies), Archipel 10 (1975).

An attempt to explain how the functioning of <u>adat</u> allows women to assume roles of political power and leadership while still being wives and mothers.

- Manning, Chris, 1977. "Ketimpangan Upah Buruh: Penelitian pada Industri Tenun dan Rokok Kretek", (The Limping Worker's Wages: An Investigation of the Weaving and Kretek Cigarette Industries), <a href="Prisma">Prisma</a> (Jakarta), VI, 3, (March 1977).
- Manuaba, I.B. Gde., 1976. "Kematian Ibu Bersalin di Rumah Sakit Umum Den Pasar Tahun 1972-1974 (Tiga Tahun Kedua)", (Maternal Mortality at the Den Pasar General Hospital (A Comparison of Two Three Year Periods), NLKOGIK, Medan: PPKGI.
- Martoatmodjo, Soekartiyah, Soemilah Sastroamidjojo et al., 1973.

  The Problem of Nutritional Anemia during Pregnancy in Relation
  to Food Consumption Patterns, Penelitian Gizi dan Makanan, jilid 3,
  Balai Penelitian Gizi Unit Surabaja, Departemen Kesehatan,
  Republik Indonesia.

Results of a survey undertaken in Java and Bali in 1969-72 of pregnant and non-pregnant women, as well as adult males, to test the hypothesis that prevailing food patterns were one of the causes of anemia. Anemia was found in twice as many pregnant as non-pregnant women, both, however, having hemoglobin counts below the WHO normal standards.

Masdani, J., 1969. "Beberapa Konsekwensi Psikologik Emancipasi Wanita Indonesia," (Some Psychological Consequences resulting from the Emancipation of Indonesian Women), Djiwa, 2, No. 1 (January 1969).

Traditional and cultural factors create psychological conflicts for the emancipated Indonesian woman, and estrange her from her husband and children as well as her own parents. McDonald, P.F., 1972. "Fewer Indonesians," B.I.E.S., VIII, No 1 (March).

Discussion of deficiencies in age distribution for females in age cohorts 10-14, and 15-19; for males 20-29 years.

McDonald, P.F., 1973. "Preliminary Evaluation of the Recorded Age Distribution of Indonesia, 1971 Census," <u>Pustaka Universitas</u>, June-July, 1973.

Analysis of recorded ages shows preference for ages ending in  $\underline{0}$  and possible underenumeration of babies and of males in ages 15 - 34 age group.

McDonald, Peter F., Mohammad Yasin and Gavin W. Jones, 1976. <u>Levels</u>
and Trends in Fertility and Childhood Mortality in Indonesia:
<u>Indonesian Fertility-Mortality Survey 1973</u>, Monograph No. 1,
Jakarta: DI, FE, UI.

An analysis of reliability of data collected in the 1973 Fertility-Mortality Survey and its comparability with data derived from the 1971 Census, utilized to estimate age-specific and total fertility rates as well as infant mortality. Discusses regional differences in fertility and infant mortality.

McNicoll, Geoffrey and Si Gde Made Mamas, 1973. The Demographic Situation in Indonesia, Papers of the East-West Population Institute, No. 28, Honolulu: East-West Center, December 1973.

The best and most up-to-date single demographic work. Discusses population growth, mortality, fertility, migration and population distribution.

McNicoll, Geoffrey, 1968. "Internal Migration in Indonesia: Descriptive Notes", Indonesia, No. 5, April 1968.

Notes marriage migration of women; their preference to moving to small towns; their migration to large cities from contiguous areas for the most part.

Mertens, Walter and Secha Alatas, 1976. <u>Rural Urban Definition and</u> Urban Agriculture in Indonesia, Jakarta: DI, FE, UI.

Montgomery, R.D., and D.G. Sisler, 1976. <u>Labor Absorption in Jogja-karta, Indonesia: An Input-Output Study</u>, Cornell University, <u>Department of Agricultural Economics</u>, March.

Contains several charts which delineate male and female labor coefficients for the various tasks necessary to farm old and new high yielding varieties of irrigated and upland rice as well as other crops which afford income to rural households.

Muliakusuma, Sutarsih, 1976. <u>Berbagai Aspek Perbedaan Pola Perkawinan di Indonesia Dewasa Ini</u> (Various Aspects of Differential Marriage Patterns in Indonesia at the present time): <u>Indonesia Fertility-Mortality Survey 1973</u>, Monograph No. 2, Jakarta: DI, FE, UI.(AA-FIS)

Analysis of data concerning age at first marriage, rate of divorce, widowhood, remarriage, and involvement in polygamous marriages. Results indicate substantial regional differences among women. Some of the comparative findings put into question the applicability of assertions from individual village studies to alrger rural and urban populations.

Muncie, Peter C., 1972. <u>Doctors and Dukuns, Puppets and Pills</u>, Washington, D.C.: International Development Council.

Human interest vignettes and accounts of methods used to promote the Indonesian family planning program from 1969-72.

Naim, Mochtar, 1973/74. Merantau: Minangkabau Voluntary Migration, Ph.D. dissertation for Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Singapore.

Several chapters explore the impact of merantau, the institution found most prominantly among Minangkabau men, but also among some men of Aceh, whereby young men leave home area to earn income or seek schooling. Discusses in particular the modern tendency of young men to leave and not return to West Sumatra.

Nasution, M.H., 1943. <u>De Plaats van de Vrouw in de Bataksche Maatschappij</u> (The Position of Women in Batak Society), Utrecht.

Discusses Batak women's role in household, agriculture, handicraft, and trade.

Noor, Yetty Rizali, 1974 "The Role of the Indonesian Woman in Various Aspects of Development", lecture delivered for participants of course on Indonesia's cultural heritage, Jakarta, May 16, 1974. (On file N.E.O., A.F.S.C.)

Review of women's accomplishments in Indonesian society since earliest times, of the women's movement, and their interest in fostering programs which increase women's participation in national development.

Noor, Yetty Rizali, 1973 "Women's Participation in Development through Civic and Political Awareness", paper written for Quaker International Seminar on "Asian Women in a Changing World", Pattaya, Thailand, Nov. 25 - Dec. 1, 1973. (On file N.E.O., A.F.S.C.)

The aims of Women's Year will be implemented if women participate directly in the political process, and in decision making for development.

Oey, Mayling, 1974 "Differential Fertility among Female-Centered Social Groups in Indonesia, 1971." <u>Majalah Demografi Indonesia</u> (Jakarta), No. 2.

A discussion derived from secondary sources of stipulations within customary law, and in practice, which promote female-centeredness in three Islamic communities: Minangkabau, Acehnese, and Javanese societies.

- Oey, Mayling, 1975a "Beberapa Catatan Demografis tentang Kemajuan Wanita Indonesia." <u>Prisma</u>, No. 5 (October 1975). For English translation, see 1975b.
- Oey, Mayling. 1975b "Some Demographic Notes on Indonesian Women and Their Achievements." <u>Prisma</u> (Jakarta), I, No. 2 (November 1975). This is a translation of 1975a.

Demographic analysis of progress of women in literacy, education, and in the labor force, from 1961 to 1971.

Oey, Mayling. 1975c "Migration and Fertility in Indonesia." <u>Policy</u>
<u>Sciences and Population</u>. Warren F. Ilchman et al (eds.). Lexington,
Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1975.

Preliminary investigation of a paradox: Javanese transmigrant women who move to high fertility area of Lampung, South Sumatra, have a higher fertility than Javanese women in Java, and even higher than Lampung women. Data suggests improvement in economic status and labor shortage in area without adequate health and educational services as potential influential factors.

Oey, Mayling, 1977/78. Rising Expectation but Limited Opportunities for Women in Indonesia. Paper submitted to Women and Development Conference, Dacca: Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, to be published end 1977/78.

While female school enrollments have increased faster proportionately than male enrollments at all levels since 1961, women have not been able to find employment as easily as men, nor achieve higher positions as frequently. This phenomenon may discourage women from seeking higher education in future, especially since unemployment levels increase with each additional year of schooling.

Oey, Mayling & Hananto Sigit, 1977. <u>Migration, Economic Development and Population Growth: A Case Study of Transmigrants in Lampung, Indonesia</u>. Jakarta: DI,FE,UI.

A comparative evaluation study of potential factors influencing fertility among government-assisted, and non government-assisted transmigrant women in Lampung, Sumatra, in contrast with the women in the area of origin, Wonogiri, Central Java. It is concluded that neither social, educational, economic nor marital characteristics are as influential on fertility as levels of infant and child mortality.

- Okada, Ferdinand E., 1977. <u>Feasibility Study and Social Soundness</u> Analysis for Rural Electrification. Jakarta: USAID
- Padmodisastro, Soedarinah, 1975 "The Women's Movement: Non-Formal Education in Indonesia", Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, Office of Education Development.
- Palmier, L. H., 1960. <u>Social Status and Power in Java</u>, London: Univ. of London.

Research undertaken in 1950's on Javanese aristocracy, <a href="prijaji">prijaji</a>, in Central Javanese town, renowned for batik. Two aspects of study particularly relevant to women. Although the discent system is bilateral, among the aristocracy the status of the father is more important than that of the mother in advancing the interests of the children. The interests of the sons are promoted ahead of those of the daughters, or the daughters' husbands. <a href="Prijaji">Prijaji</a> women employ village women to make <a href="tulis">tulis</a> batik either in small workshops behind their homes, or through the putting-out system. <a href="Prijaji">Prijaji</a> women also sell batiks from their homes, thereby imparting to their economic activities a kind of amateur sideline appearance.

Palmore, James A. & Chai Bin Park, 1973 "Population Policy and Family Planning Programs in Asia and the Pacific", <u>LAWASIA</u>, 4, No. 22 (Dec. 1973).

Comparative perspective and statistics on various family planning programs in Asia, and the policies they utilize to implement objectives.

Pandam Guritno, 1964 "A Cross Cultural Study of Divorce: With Special Reference to a Javanese Village in Jogjakarta, Indonesia", Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell Univ.

Surveys factors influencing frequency of divorce in one community and concludes economic reasons are paramount.

Panjaitan, Kartini Nurmala, 1977 "Kegiatan Dagang Inang-Inang" (The Trading Activities of the Inang-Inang). Masyarakat Indonesia, IV, No. 1-2 (June 1977). (This is an abstract of a thesis with the same title for FIS, UI.)

Mobility and life style of Batak women traders who travel from Jakarta to Singapore with their goods in order to earn income for their families.

Papanek, Gustav, 1975 "The poor of Jakarta", Economic Development and Cultural Change, 24, No. 1 (1975).

Survey of the means of livlihood and expenditures of the very poorest sectors of Jakarta's population, women as well as men.

Papanek, Hanna, 1975a. Marriage, divorce, and Marriage Law Reform in Indonesia. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Role and Status of Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies, Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, April 19, 1975. Memeographed.

Preliminary version of a paper dealing with divorce as a social problem. Compares divorce frequencies between rural and urban areas of Java. Also compares initial version of the Marriage Bill of 1973 and the Marriage Law of 1974, finding significant differences related to attitudes of various groups in Indonesian society.

Papanek, Hanna, 1975b "Women in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and Research." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol. 1, No. 1.

Review article and selected bibliography dealing with research on women in Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. Discusses necessary context for research on women, problems of data availability, relevance of research for current social problems. Reviews literature from many related fields.

- Papanek, Hanna, 1976 "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter" in Women and World Development, Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, eds., Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C.
- Papanek, Hanna, 1976c. <u>Jakarta Middle Class Women: Modernization</u>, <u>Employment and Family Life</u>. Paper presented at the Fifth Conference on Indonesia of the Indonesian Studies Summer Institute, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Mimeographed. To be published in 1978 in Proceedings of the Conference on Modern Indonesian Culture, Gloria Davis (ed.), Athens: Ohio Univ. Press.

Discussion of research paradoxes in studying Indonesian women and report on field data in terms of analytical framework differentiating between patterns of family life, fertility, women's employment and differing class levels. Also includes analysis of modernization symbols used in family planning posters used in Indonesia.

Papanek, Hanna, 1977a "Development Planning for Women." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol. 3, No. 1. Also reprinted in Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change. Wellesley Editorial Committee (eds.), 1977, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Discusses the obstacles facing the "integration of women in development" and proposes some remedies by integrating women in development planning.

Papanek, Hanna, 1977b. The Integration of Women in Development: Women's Work and Development Planning for Women. Paper presented at the Regional South and Southeast Asian Seminar on Women and Development, Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, Dacca, Bangladesh, March 28-April 1, 1977. Mimeographed. To be published in volume of conference papers, Rounaq Jahan and Hanna Papanek, editors, forthcoming Dacca 1978, title still uncertain, University Press, Dacca.

Discussion of obstacles to integrating women in development and possible remedies in development plans. Also focuses on analysis of women's work in the home and outside, proposing concepts for relating the work of women and men within the household according to class and income levels, using Indonesian studies.

Papanek, Hanna, 1978a "The Special Need for Field Work among Women."

<u>Aspek Manusia dalam Penelitian Masyarakat Indonesia: Suara-Suara dari Lapangan</u>. Koentjaraningrat & Donald K. Emmerson, editors, to be published in Indonesia.

- Papanek, Hanna, 1978b. <u>Women, Class and Social Change in South and Southeast Asia</u>. Paper delivered at Association for Asian Studies meeting, Chicago, March 31-April 2, 1978.
- Papanek, Hanna, T. Omas Ihromi & Yulfita Rahardjo, 1974. Changes in the Status of Women and Their Significance in the Process of Social Change: Indonesian Case Studies. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Asian History, International Association of Historians of Asia, Yogyakarta, Aug. 26-30, 1974. Mimeographed. Available in Women's Collection, South Asia Reference Collection, Regenstein Library, Univ. of Chicago. This is an earlier version of Papanek et al 1978.

Preliminary report on the collaborative field study of urban middle class women in Jakarta, presenting early findings. Portions of the paper later appeared as parts of Ihromi 1975 (Prisma article) and Rahardjo 1975 (Prisma article), and Papanek 1975a.

Papanek, Hanna, Mely G. Tan, T. Omas Ihromi, Yulfita Rahardjo, Ann Way, & Pauline R. Hendrata, 1976a. <u>Women in Jakarta: Family Life and Family Planning</u>. Report to the Interdisciplinary Communications Program of the Smithsonian Institution, under a work agreement with the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia. 250 pages.

Report on a collaborative field study of 146 middle class and lower-middle class women in Jakarta based on depth interviews of housewives and employed women. Chapters cover family planning, family size; women's work inside and outside the home; education and fertility; women's informal associations (arisan).

- Papanek, Hanna, Mely G. Tan, T. Omas Ihromi, Yulfita Rahardjo, Ann Way & Pauline R. Hendrata, 1976b "Women in Jakarta: Family Life and Family Planning." <u>Cultural Factors and Population in Developing Countries</u>. Occasional Monograph Series, No. 6, ICP Work Agreement Reports, Interdisciplinary Communications Program. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution. (This is a highly abbreviated version of 1976a; Indonesian translation forthcoming in Masyarakat Indonesia).
- Papanek, Hanna, T. Omas Ihromi, & Yulfita Rahardjo, 1978. <u>Social Change and Class Differences in the Lives of Indonesian Women</u>. Australian publisher forthcoming. This is a revised version of Papanek et al 1974.
- Partadireja, Ace, 1974 "Rural Credit: The Ijon System", B.I.E.S., X, No. 3 (Nov. 1974).

Pardoko, R. H. & Astuti Indroes, 1974. <u>Pengetahuan Sikap dan Praktek Keluarga Berencana di Jawa Timur</u> (Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice of Family Planning in East Java). Surabaya: National Institute of Public Health.

Analysis of Indonesian women, as compared with Chinese women's knowledge, attitudes, and practice of family planning.

Partini & Nancy Lee Peluso, 1977. The Roles of Rural Women in the Family Economy: A Micro-Study of Women Working Outside of the Agricultural Sector in Rural Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta: GMU, Faculty of Social & Political Science.

Women change from in-home to outside income earning activities in relation to the stage of development of their families, and their own age. High earning outside income-earning activities also are resorted to, regardless of number of children, if the profits are so much greater than average. The intensity of trade activities is seasonal and reduced when women can earn in-kind shares through harvesting. The majority of women from landless families contribute more to family income than men, and non-agricultural sources of income are greater than those derived from agriculture.

Peluso, Nancy Lee - see Partini

- Penelitian Kehidupan Keluarga dalam Masalah Urbanisasi Kotamadya
  Surabaya di Surabaya (Investigation of Family Livelihood in Surabaya
  in Relation to the Urbanization Problems of the Municipality of
  Surabaya) 1958. Yogyakarta: Dinas Research Organisasi, BPPS. (AA-FIS)
- Penelitian Socio-Agro-Ekonomi Daerah Tuntung-Serang di Wilayay Kabupaten

  Demak-Grobogan dan Lima Desa Sampel (Socio-Agro-Economic Investigation of Five Sample Villages in the Tuntung-Serang area of Kabupaten Demak-Grobogan). 1975. Salatiga: LPIS.
- Penny, David H., 1963 "Case Study of a Farm in East Sumatra", New York: The Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, Inc. (a CLCA paper from C.E.C.A., 14 West 49th St., N.Y.)

Short discussion from viewpoint of agricultural economics on land use, use of hand labor, mechanization, kinds of payment for labor, and kinds of labor undertaken by husband, wife, and children, and relative value of their production.

Penny, D. H. and Masri Singarimbun, 1972 "A Case Study of Rural Poverty", B.I.E.S., VIII, No. 2 (March, 1972).

A useful summary of parts of the author's <u>Population and Poverty in Rural Java</u>.

Penny, D. H. and M. S. Singarimbun, 1973. <u>Population and Poverty in Rural Java: some economic arithmetic from Shrihardjo</u>, Ithaca: Cornell Univ., Dept. of Agric. Economics.

Population pressure and land ownership concentration in village near Yogyakarta has either reduced the size of rice fields, or has deprived the majority of villagers of rice fields altogether to the point they are without enough land to produce sufficient crops for their subsistence needs.

- Perwari Seminar tentang partispasi Wanita dalam pembangunan masjarakat desa, tanggal 4-10, Oktober 1971 (Perwari Seminar concerning the participation of women in the development of village society, October 4-10, 1971), Jakarta: Panitia Seminar, 1971.
- Perwari/OEF, <u>Proceedings of workshop on Population, Nutrition, and</u> the Status of Women, Jakarta: Perwari, 1974.
- Piet, Nancy, 1976 "Four Women: A Report from Indonesia", World Education Reports, No. 11, April 1976.

Discusses lives of one village woman, one single middle-class woman, one married middle-class woman, and one elite woman, in terms of what they have accomplished and what they can hope to accomplish as a result of their social class and education, rural or urban situation, and their, and their husband's attitudes towards family planning. A recommendation to improve the status of women is to eliminate all costs of family planning to poor women, and to make education free.

Postma, P. A., Soejatni, and Soebyakto, 1967. Perubahan Pola Kehidupan Keluarga Kota - Penelitian Sosiologis - Ekologis di Beberapa Daerah Kota Jakarta-Raya (Changes in the Patterns of Life in Urban Families - Sociological-Ecological Research in several areas of the city of Greater Jakarta), Djilid I: Angke Duri; Djilid II: Tebet, Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Ilmu Masjarakat, Fakultas Psychologi, dan I.P.K., Universitas Indonesia.

Intensive survey of the effect on poor families of being moved by the government from squatter sites, of the effects of male migration patterns on dependency loads for women, and of the ecological consequences of poorly planned settlements.

Postma, P. A., 1967 "Urbanization and Family Planning", Jakarta.

- Prastowo Mardjikoen, H. Dinari Sellepan, & H. Moekri Arrianto, 1976.

  Maternal Mortality at the Obstetric Department of the Gadjah Mada
  University Hospital from 1970 to 1975. NLKOGIK. Medan: PPKGI.
- Prisma, 1975 "Wanita dan Cakrawala Baru" (Women and New Horizons), October 1975, no. 5.

Articles by prominant Indonesian social scientists concerning women's response to recent changes and development programs, and some of their continuing problems. (The articles of Oey, and of Rahardjo, were translated into English and published in the November, 1975 edition of <a href="Prisma">Prisma</a>, and are separately cited in this bibliography).

Purawidjaja, Sukarsih, 1972. <u>Bibliografi tentang Pergerakan Wanita</u>
<u>Indonesia</u> sesudah tahun 1945 (Bibliography concerning the Indonesian Women's Movement since 1945), Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Comprehensive list of Indonesian publications in subject categories such as "Women and Society", "Women's Emancipation", "Women's Tasks and Activities" and "Women in the Country's History".

Rahardjo, Yulfita, 1975 "Some Dilemmas of Working Women", Prisma, I, no. 2 (Nov. 1975).

Women's participation in the labor force, while high in comparison to other Asian countries, makes urban women worry that they have neglected their family responsibilities, and has led to some unresolved psychological conflicts. Married women are most comfortable, at present, in carrying on occupations from their homes.

- Ramedhan, Erwin, 1977 "The Disco Way of Life in Jakarta: From Subculture to Cultural Void." Prisma (Jakarta), 6 (June 1977).
- Rasid, Gadis, 1977 "Wanita Indonesia Tahun 1977" (Indonesian Women in 1977). Mutiara (Jakarta), Dec. 19, 1977.
- Redmana, Han R., Hazel V.J. Moir, & Daliyo, 1977. <u>Labor Force and Labor Utilization in Selected Areas in Java: Results of an Experimental Survey</u>, I. Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI Monograph Series, August 1977.
- Reese, T. H., Soedarmadi, Haryono Suyono, 1975 "The Indonesian National Family Planning Program", B.I.E.S., XI, No. 3 (Nov. 1975).

Detailed information on the Indonesian family planning program, including a description of the latest innovation, the village contraceptive depots. Charts delineate the number of acceptors, their backgrounds, and the costs of the program.

- Review Sebab-Sebab Kematian (Review of the Causes of Death). 1972.

  Dept. of Health, Jakarta.
- Rohde, Jon Eliot & Robert S. Northrup. May 1977. Mother as the Basic Health Worker: Training Her and her trainers. Paper presented at Bellagio Consultation: New Types of Basic Health Services World Wide and the Implications for the Education of Other Health Care Professionals.
- Rose, C. S. and P. Gyorgy, 1970 "Malnutrition in Children in Indonesia", Indonesia: Resources and Their Technological Development, H. W. Beers, ed., Lexington: The Univ. Press of Kentucky.
- Ross, Allan O. and Edward M. Bruner, 1961. <u>Family Interaction at Two Levels of Acculturation in Sumatra</u>, Stanford: Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford Univ.

Comparison of personality patterns of adolescent Toba-Tatak girls in family life in rural and urban settings.

Sadli, M., 1973 "Indonesia's Experience with the Application of Technology and its Employment Effects", Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia, no. 3 (Sept. 1973), a paper presented at an international seminar on "Technology and Development", held in New Delhi, March 21-24, 1973.

Notes fact that mechanical rice hullers benefit the wealthier farmers, but drastically reduce the income formerly earned by the poorest women through hand-pounding. This impoverishment of village women will have an adverse effect on the welfare of a large proportion of the villagers, and on village unity and the quality of village life.

Sadli, Saparinah & Zainul Biran, 1976 "Permissive Attitudes in Sexual Relations." Prisma (Jakarta), 4 (Nov. 1976)

Explorative study of attitudes of Jakarta secondary school elite youth towards pre-marital relations. Concludes youth not suffering from normlessness, but there is evidence of a double standard: female youth regard equality and affectional ties as preconditions to permissiveness while male youths express less, or no, need for such restraints.

Sajogyo, Prof. 1974/1975a Usaha Perbaikan Gizi Keluarga (Efforts to Improve Family Nutrition) - ANP - Evaluation Study, 1973. Bogor: LSPD.

In evaluating what achieved to date, and making recommendations, presents average food intakes, and estimates percentage of families living below the poverty line throughout Indonesia.

Sajogyo, Prof. 1975b New Approaches in Community Nutrition Programs.

- Sojogyo, Prof., 1975c. <u>Rural Development Programs in Indonesia;</u>
  <u>Village Solidarity and Other Goals</u>. Prepared for the Study Group
  on Approaches to Rural Development in Asia, Asian Center for
  Development Administration (ACDA), Kuala Lumpus 1974/75. Bogor: IPB.
- Sajogyo, Pudjiwati, 1977a. The Taman Gizi or Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre (NRC) in villages of West Java, Indonesia: A Case of Women Active Participation in Insuring Continuous Improvement in the Quality of Rural Life. Paper prepared for 59th study seminar on "The Role of Women in Rural Development Studies", Sussex: Univ. of Sussex, 10 Jan. 11 Feb., 1977.

Analysis of constraints which cause undernourishment of children under 7 years of age in well-off and poor households, and makes suggestions for removing them, derived from observations during action-research.

Sajogyo, Pudjiwati, 1977b. The Integration of Rural women in National Development in Indonesia. Bogor: LPSD, IPB.

Information on demographic characteristics of Indonesian women, participation in the labor force, and in social, cultural, and political activities. Lists the many government and non-government programs and agencies oriented towards improving women's welfare in all aspects of life.

Salyo, Suwarni, 1977. <u>Islamic Influences on the Lives of Women in Indonesia</u>. Pacific Basin Conference, sponsored by the American Ass'n. of Univ. Women, The Int'l Federation of Univ. Women, & The East-West Culture Learning Institute. Honolulu: East-West Center, Feb. 28 - March 5, 1977.

How women are conceived in Islamic Law, its protections and restrictions, and how the behavior of devout Islamic Indonesian women is conditioned by Islamic schooling and interpretations of religious precepts.

- Santosa, 1952. The Position of Indonesian Women in the Republic of Indonesia and Women's Position in Marriage Law, UNESCO Seminar on the Status of Women in Southeast Asia, New Delhi.
- Schrijvers, Joke and Els Postel-Coster, 1977 "Minangkabau Women: Change in a Matrilineal Society", Archipel 13.
- Setyadi, 1973 "Primary Education in Indonesia", <u>Bulletin of the UNESCO</u> Regional Office for Education in Asia, No. 14, June 1973.

Detailed information about the Education Law, public and private primary school facilities, enrollments, and plans for the future which will effect the primary school age group in general, and girls in particular.

Siegel, James T., 1969. The Rope of God, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Assertiveness of women in this Islamic patrilineal society is described, as is the concern of parents to provide their daughters with a house and land.

- Siegel, Lenny, 1975 "Indonesian Electronics".
- Sinaga, Rudolf and William L. Collier, 1975 "Social and Regional Implications of Agricultural Development Policy", <u>Prisma</u>, I, No. 2 (Nov. 1975)

Labor displacement of women as well as men caused by technological innovations introduced into rural Java in recent years.

- Sinaga, Rudolf S., 1977. Employment, Income Distribution and Policy Implications of Agricultural Mechanization in Java: Preliminary Conclusion from a Case-Study in Indramayu, West Java. Paper prepared for Core Group on Employment Strategy Panel Discussion on Employment and Income Distribution in Indonesian Agriculture. Jakarta: ILO, 18-19 Oct. 1977.
- Sinaga, Rudolf and William L. Collier. 1975. Social and Regional Implications of Agricultural Development Policy.
- Sinaga, Rudolf S., Abunawan Mintoro, Yusuf, Saefudin, Benjamin White, 1977a. Rural Institutions Serving Small Farmers and Labourers: A Case Study in the Village of Sukagalih, Garut Regency, West Java. Bogor: AES, RDS.
- Sinaga, Rudolf S. & Bonar M. Sinaga, 1977b. The Impact of New Rice Technology on the Share of Farm Earnings: The Indonesian and Philippines Case Compared. Bogor: IPB
- Singarimbun, Masri, 1972. <u>Sriharjo Family Planning Study</u>. <u>Some</u> <u>preliminary results (one way tables)</u>. Dept. of Demography, Australian Univ., Canberra (mimeo).
- Singarimbun, Masri. 1974a. The Population of Indonesia: A Bibliography.
- Singarimbun, Masri, 1974a. <u>The Population of Indonesia: A Bibliography</u>, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, Institute of Population Studies.

Lists publications in Bahasa Indonesia and in English which not only cover population studies, but also demographic analysis, migration and overseas communities, social characteristics, economic resources and development, labor force, education, health and nutrition, marriage, divorce, and the family, and fertility and fertility control.

- Singarimbun, Masri, 1974b. <u>Pembahasan atas prasaran tentang "Peman-faatan mass media untuk informasis KB"</u> Kumpulan Bahan dan Hasil Seminar Wanita dalam Pers yang Membangun (Seminar Pers Wanita). Yayasan Penabur dan Majalah Wanitia Mutiara. Jakarta: 12-13 June.
- Singarimbun, Masri, 1975. <u>Kinship, Descent, and Alliance among the</u> Karo Batak. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Singarimbun, Masri, 1976 "Srihardjo Revisited", B.I.E.S., XII, No. 2 (July 1976).

Return to village surveyed five years before, and while finds some infrastructure improvements, notes that installation of three rice hullers has drastically reduced the level of the poorest women's welfare.

Singarimbun, Masri & Chris Manning, 1974a. <u>Fertility and Family Planning in Mojalama</u>. Yogyakarta: PI, GMU. 2nd printing 1976.

Investigation undertaken in Yogyakarta village 1969-1970 of factors which contribute to low fertility of Javanese women. Concluded result of time lost due to delay in age at first childbirth, and factors which promote lengthy birth intervals, divorce and other forms of marital disruption; abstinence, and post partum amenorrhea associated with prolonged breast feeding.

- Singarimbun, Masri & Chris Manning, 1974b. Marriage and Divorce in Mojolama.
- Singarimbun, Masri and Chris Manning, 1974b "Marriage and Divorce in Mojolama", <u>Indonesia</u>, No. 17 (April 1974).

Quantitative survey assessing percentages of parentally arranged marriages, age at first marriage, and frequency and reasons for divorce in village near Yogyakarta. Results show early age of marriage continuing in traditional rural area, except for those girls with a higher education who leave.

- Singarimbun, M. & C. Manning, 1976 "Breastfeeding, Amenorrhea, and Abstinence in a Javanese Village: A Case Study of Mojolama." Studies in Family Planning, vol. 7, no. 6 (June 1976).
- Singarimbun, Masri & Terence H. Hull, 1977. Social Responses to High Mortality which act to support High Fertility. Yogyakarta: PI, GMU, paper prepared for the Seventeenth General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Mexico City, August 8-13, 1977.

An examination of whether high infant and child mortality stimulates or sustains high fertility in two previously surveyed villages in Yogyakarta. However, the poor who have the highest (con't)

infant mortality rates have the lowest fertility because poor women suffer more from marital disruption and infecundity. Thereby, their replacement responses are limited.

Sinquefield, Jeanne Cairns and Gavin Jones, 1976 "The Validity of Family Planning Statistics: A Comment:, <u>B.I.E.S.</u>, XII, No. 3 (Nov. 1976).

Family planning statistics published by official agencies show results which are within the range of statistical probability.

Sinquefield, Jeanne Cairns & Bambang Sungkono, 1977a. Fertility and Family Planning in Java and Bali: Based on the 1976 Java Bali Fertility Survey and Other Sources. (Preliminary Draft). Jakarta: DI.FE.UI.

The most up-to-date analysis and estimates of total, age specific, and marital fertility, infant mortality, and the effectiveness of use of modern and traditional methods of birth control in Java and Bali alone, utilizing data derived from Phase III of the 1976 Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS).

Sinquefield, Jeanne Cairns & Azwini Kartoyo, 1977b. Sex Preference for Children in Indonesia. Jakarta: DI,FE,UI.

Concludes from 1973 Fertility Mortality Survey on ideal number of sons and daughters, as compared with actual number and sex of children ever born, that 59% of Indonesian women have no sex preference, though among those who specify, 24% want sons and 17% daughters. Preference varies widely by region. There is no information on husbands' preferences.

Sisdjiatmo, K., Mod. Jasin, & Rozy Munir, 1975. <u>Beberapa Perubahan Demografis pada Keadaan dan Kimposisi Penduduk Wanita Indonesia selama Dasawarsa anta Sensus 1961-1971</u> (Several Demographic Changes in the Situation and Composition of the Female Indonesian Population during the Decade between the Censuses 1961-1971). Jakarta: DI,FE,UI. (AA-FIS)

Stimulated by proclamation of International Women's Year 1975, data concerning Indonesian women was extracted from the 1961 and 1971 Censuses to make comparisons, and show changes in status. Text and charts provide information on proportionate number of women in urban and rural areas of each province, participation in the labor force, level of unemployment, education, literacy, fertility, mortality, marriage, age of marriage, divorce, widowhood, birth rates, surviving children, and projections of number of women up to year 2001.

Sitsen, Peter H. W., <u>Industrial Development of the Netherlands Indies</u>, Batavia: Bulletin 2 of the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, (n.d., but around 1941.)

This study describes three levels of industrial activity in Indonesia: cottage, small-scale, and factory, and the significant ties that particularly the first two levels had with each other. The degree of women's participation in work at each level of industry is discussed, as is the kind of production they are most actively associated with, and the contribution of cottage industry to the farming family's budget. The social organization of non-agricultural production in the rural sector under the putting-out system, and the importance of patterns of patron-client relations with the broker, the <a href="mailto:bakul">bakul</a>, is described as well as the introduction of "centrals" for cooperatives.

Solyam, Garrett and Bronwen, 1973. <u>Textiles of the Indonesian Archipelago</u>
Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawaii.

Describes the manifold uses of Indonesian textiles, including their use as currency, and notes that all major textiles are made by women, except tjap batik. Symbolically textiles represent women, and have had great ceremonial as well as functional use.

- Statistik Wanita dalam Badan Legislatip Indonesia 1974 Statistics on Women in Legislation, Indonesia 1974. Jakarta: KNKWI.
- Stoler, Ann, 1974 "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Rice Harvesting in a Javanese Village", New York: Columbia University, Dept. of Anthropology, Sept. 1974.

Land ownership concentration, the introduction of mechanical rice hullers and of the steel sythe has reduced women's opportunities for harvest work and in-kind compensation. This loss can not be easily made up through traveling to other villages since as strangers they receive reduced shares of the harvest, if such work is available; trade and handicraft earn women less per day than reaping.

- Stoler, Ann, 1975a "Land, Labor and Female Autonomy in a Javanese Village", New York: Columbia University, Dept. of Anthropology. This is an earlier, less complete, version of "Class Structure and Female Autonomy in Rural Java".
- Stoler, Ann, 1975b. <u>Garden Use and Household Consumption Patterns in a Javanese Village</u>. New York: Columbia Univ., Dept. of Anthropology.
- Stoler, Ann, 1975c "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Rice Harvesting in a Javanese Village." <u>Masyarakat Indonesia</u> (Jakarta), 2, 1 (June 1975). This is a shorter form of Stoler 1974.

- Stoler, Ann, 1976A "Some Economic Determinants of Female Autonomy in Rural Java." Paper presented at the Agricultural Development Council RTN Workshop on "Family Labor Force Use in Agricultural Production", ICRISAT, Hyderbad, Feb. 2-3, 1976.
- Stoler, Ann, 1976b "Class Structure and Female Autonomy in Rural Java", paper presented at: Women and Development Conference, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Ma. (June 1976). This is a later, amplified, version of "Land, Labor and Female Autonomy in a Javanese Village". Signs" Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 3, 1 Sept. 1977.

Views women in villages as disadvantaged primarily by economic class rather than by sex. Although poorer women are losing traditional work opportunities and compensation as a result of the increasing use of mechanical rice hullers and the steel sythe, Stoler feels poorer women are in a more fortunate position than poorer men since they have always utilized other options such as trade and handicraft to earn household income. Both men and women's contributions to household income in relation to the size of their agricultural holdings are charted demonstrating that non-agricultural work contributes a larger portion to the household income of the landless and poor than to the rich landowners. Women's strong decision-making role in the household, and in ceremonial allocation of food also is discussed.

- Stoler, Ann, 1977a "Struktur Kelas dan Otonomi Wanita di Pedesaan di Jawa." <u>Masyarakat Indonesia</u> (Jakarta), IV, 1-2, June 1977. (This is an Indonesian translation of 1976b.)
- Stoler, Ann. 1978 "How Do Your Gardens Grow? A Study of Garden Use and Household Economy in Rural Java." To be published in <u>Agricultural Development in Indonesia</u>, edited by Gary Hanson. This is a shorter and revised version of 1975b.
- Strathern, Marilyn, 1972. <u>Women In Between, Female Roles in a Male</u> World: Mt. Hagen, New Guinea, London/New York: Seminar Press.

Comparison of women's roles, involvement in society, loyalties, and values with men.

Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1953 "The Changing Social Position of Women in the East" <u>Eastern and Western World</u>, selected readings with a forward by S. Hofstra, The Hague/Bandung: W. van Hoeve.

In the East, there is great progress for one group of women, the upper class, while the majority of women remain backward.

Subandrio, H., 1950. "De Indonesische Vrouw in de Wereld van Vandaag" (The Indonesian Woman in Today's World), <u>Sticusa Jaarboek</u>, Amsterdam, Kolff.

The problems posed for Indonesian women in adapting to post-independence changes and opportunities.

- Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1951. "Javanese Peasant Life in Villages in East Java," Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology, University of London.
- Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1951. "The Legal and Social Position of Women in Indonesia," <u>Civilizations</u>, IV, No. 31.

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- Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1949. "The Position of Women in a Muslim Family in Indonesia," Islamic Review, 37, No. 9.
- Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1963. "The Respective Roles of Men and Women in Indonesia," <u>Women in the New Asia</u>, Barbara E. Ward, ed., Paris: UNESCO.

Contrasts the role her mother played in upper class family life with her own elite professional life. Discusses fact that the most important jobs are held by men regardless of the gains women have made.

- Subandrio, Hurustiati, 1952. "The Social Life of Women in Indonesia" Islamic Review, 40, No. 8.
- Suharso, Alden Speare, Jr., Han R. Redmana, Imron Husin, 1976. <u>Rural-Urban Migration in Indonesia</u>, Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI Monograph Series, April 1976.

Research on female and male migrants conducted in Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi. Results indicate most migrants have gained economically through migration, although a certain percentage of women migrate for non-economic reasons. The majority of rural women migrants find work as domestic servants and elsewhere in the service sector.

- Sujatni, 1971. "Keluarga Berentjana dan Kehidupan Wanita Indonesia" (Family Planning and the Lives of Indonesian Women), Jakarta:

  Kertas Kerdja dalam Seminar Perwari.
- Soejatni, 1977. "Rôle et Participation des Femmes dans la Planification des Naissances" (Role and Participation of Women in Family Planning), Archipel 13.

Discusses traditional means of limiting births; the great value of children and the pressure on the woman to produce children or risk divorce. Discusses need to involve the husband in family planning decisions. Contains tables demonstrating successful family planning efforts.

Soelistyo, 1975. "Creating Employment Opportunities in the Rural Areas of East Java," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado.

Analysis of potential of small-scale and household industries and "green revolution" to provide absorption of unemployed in rural areas of East Java. Concludes that prospects are not encouraging, that handicraft and cottage industries are disappearing, and that there has been a decline in income-earning opportunities since 1970.

Sundrum, R.M., 1973. "Consumer Expenditure Patterns," B.I.E.S., IX, No. 1, (March 1973).

Information derived from Socio Economic Surveys (SUSENAS II, 1964-65 and SUSENAS III, 1967) for rural and urban households. Discusses men's and women's contribution to household income and demonstrates that non-agricultural work contributes a larger portion in landless families. Discusses women's strong decision-making role in the household and in ceremonial allocation of food.

- Sundrum, R.M., 1974. "Household Income Patterns," B.I.E.S., X, No. 1, (March 1974).
- Sundrum, R.M., 1976. "Interprovincial Migration," B.I.E.S., XII, No. 1, (March 1976).

Information on migration of women as well as men.

- Soeprono, R., 1976. "Panitia Musyawarah Kematian Maternal" (Proceedings Concerning the Committee on Maternal Mortality), NLKOGIK, Medan: PPKGI.
- Soeratman, Masri Singarimbun, and Patrick Guiness, 1977. The Social and Economic Conditions of Transmigrants in South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi, Yogyakarta: PI, GMU.

Poor agricultural conditions force some transmigrant men and women to seek off-farm work. Concludes that many wives have to farm by themselves while their husbands work away from the transmigrant site.

- Surjotjondro see also Suryochondro.
- Surjotjondro, Sukanti (ed.), 1973. <u>Peranan Dukun Bayi dalam Program Keluarga Berencana</u> (The Role of the Traditional Midwife in the Family Planning Program), Jakarta: Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia.

The many pre-natal, post-natal, delivery, advisory, and ceremonial functions of the midwife, and her importance and standing in the village community.

Suroso, Zadjuli, 1977. <u>Pembinaan Generasi Muda dan Mobilitas Sosial;</u> Seminar Nasional Ilmu Ilmu Sosial dan Pengabdian Masyarakat, Himpunan Indonesia untuk Pengembangun Ilmu Ilmu Sosial, Menado, November 1977.

Young women migrants to Surabaya improve their status in five years, and improve their standard of living to the extent they have running water and electricity.

Soerya Atmadja and Pgf. Simandjuntak, 1976. Women and Employment in Indonesia; A Country Paper prepared for the ASEAN Meeting on Women and Employment, Kuala Lumpur, 2-5 November 1976, Jakarta: Department of Manpower, Transmigration and Cooperatives, November 1, 1976.

Up-to-date information on women's employment in various sectors of the economy.

- Suryochondro, S., 1976a. "Organisasi-Organisasi Wanita di Indonesia", (Women's Organizations in Indonesia), thesis submitted for degree in Sociology, University of Indonesia, FIS.
- Suryochondro, Sukanti, 1976b. "The Status, Role and Achievements of Women in Indonesia"; "The Role of Women in Development", seminar papers and statements from "The Role of Women in Development: Implications for Higher Education in Southeast Asia", Manila, 16-22 December 1975; Leonardo Z. Legaspi, chairman of editors; Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press.

Excellent overview of achievements of women in all areas of life, and of accomplishments of women's organizations.

- Suwardi, Herman, 1974. <u>Rural Institutions</u>, Jakarta: Agro-Economic Survey, October 1974.
- Soewando, Nani, 1975a. "Efforts to Improve the Status of Women in Indonesia," <u>Asia Foundation Quarterly</u> (Winter 1975).

Excellent short discussion covering areas where women have gained equality as in equal pay for equal work, voting rights, 1974 Marriage Law; and discussion of areas where improvement is still needed such as in education and inheritance law.

Soewando, Nani, 1975b. "Legal Efforts to Improve the Status of Women in Indonesia," no date, but probably January 1975 (on file at Asia Foundation, San Francisco).

Evaluation of effect of legislation on improving women's status; concludes change in social attitudes, and implementation of reform legislation is now most important.

Soewando, Nani, 1975c. "The Status of Women and Population in Indonesia," <u>WIC Journal</u>, Jakarta: Women's International Club (June 1975).

Legal gains of Indonesian women stipulated in the constitution and the 1974 Marriage Law have been vitiated by ineffective implementation. Discusses draft proposal for comprehensive inheritance law and delays in its passage. Cites women's organizations' support for family planning as a means to improve the status of women.

Suwando, Nani, 1958. "Indonesia", <u>Women's Role in the Development of Tropical and Sub-Tropical Countries</u>, Report of the XXXI Meeting: Brussels: International Institute of Differing Civilizations, September 7-20, 1958.

A comprehensive survey of matters concerning Indonesian women including the need for a comprehensive marriage law, and their opposition to inequalities in inheritance law and the penal code. The unanticipated consequences of advanced labor legislation are discussed as are parental reasons for giving priority to the higher education of boys.

Soewando, Nani, 1968. <u>Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia dalam Hukum dan</u>
<u>Masjarakat</u> (The Status of Indonesian Women in Law and Society),
Djakarta; Timun Mas.

Discusses inequalities of women in civil and criminal law and as a result of Islamic marriage. Women are lagging behind in political and economic life and need to be educated as to their legal rights. Discusses need to address problems of young rural women migrants.

Suwando, Nani, 1971. "The Role of Women in Indonesia," lecture delivered at Goethe Institute, Jakarta, <u>Japenpa Features</u>, (November 5, 1971.)

Good discussion of the fight for a new marriage law and some of the still outstanding reforms needed.

Soewando, Nani, ed., 1974. <u>Law and Population in Indonesia</u>, Jakarta: National Training and Research Center for Family Planning.

Effects of legal provisions concerning men and women in marriage, divorce, and inheritance in relation to social customs.

Soewando, Nani, 1977. "The Indonesian Marriage Law and Its Implementation Regulation", Archipel 13.

Soewando, N. and O. Djoewari, 1970. <u>Population and Family Planning in Indonesia</u>, preliminary report prepared for the Indonesia Planned Parenthood Association with the assistance of Dr. Brooks Ryder, Ford Foundation, May 1970.

A review of Indonesia's population problems and of the growth and organization of family planning programs sponsored by various branches of the government and by voluntary organizations.

Suyono, Haryono et al., 1976. "Village Family Planning: The Indonesian Model," World Education Report (October 1976) (Complete paper can be obtained from Reports magazine.)

Summary of a rebuttal to Nancy Piet's article pointing out age of marriage has risen, and that there are innumerable self-help efforts being generated through the establishment of village contraceptive distribution centers.

Tan, Giok-Lan - see also Tan, Mely G.

Tan, Giok-Lan (Mely), 1963. The Chinese of Sukabumi: A Study in Social and Cultural Accommodation, Ithaca: Cornell University, Modern Indonesia Project.

An excellent description of the Sundanese <u>Peranakan</u> (Indonesian-Chinese) community of Sukabumi, West Java, including information on the family and social life of women, their education, choice of a spouse, marriage, ideas about child-rearing, and the independence of a few unmarried <u>Peranakan</u> women.

- Tan, Jorrie, 1977. <u>Demographic Study Family Planning Programs in</u>
  North Sulawesi, Menado: Demographic Institute, Sam Ratulangi Univ.
- Tan, Mely G., no date. "Changing Food Habits in Rural Households in Indonesia", Jakarta.

Discusses the findings of two nutritional surveys which reveal that a large part of the vegetables which women raise in the home garden are sold for cash rather than consumed, and that food beliefs which apply to young girls, pregnant women, and nursing mothers, actually prevent women from eating available essential nutrients.

Tan, Mely G. 1973. "The Social and Cultural Context of Family Planning in Indonesia", The Status of Women and Family Planning in Indonesia, T.O. Ihromi, Mely G. Tan et al, Jakarta: The Research Team on the Status of Women and Family Planning, June 1973.

Discusses need to reduce pressures for early marriage and child-bearing and desire for large families. Discusses the potential of using traditional midwives as motivators to change attitudes.

- Tan, Mely G., 1976. "Majority-Minority Situations: Indonesia", <a href="Prisma">Prisma</a> (Jakarta), 4 (November 1976.
- Tan, Mely G., 1977. "The Social and Cultural Context of Women in Indonesia," Pacific Basin Conference sponsored by the American Association of University Women, the International Federation of University Women, and the East-West Culture Learning Institute, Honolulu: East-West Center, February 28-March 5, 1977.

Discussion covers demography, women's role in life of four customary law groups, matrifocality, women's role in society and economy, and educational achievements.

- Tan, Mely, G., Djumadias A. Nain, Suharso, Julifita Rahardjo, Sunardjo, and Setedjo Muljohardjo, 1970. Social and Cultural Aspects of Food Patterns in Five Rural Areas in Indonesia, Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI (2nd edition, 1973.)
- Tanner, Nancy, 1974. "Matrifocality in Indonesia and Africa and Among Black Americans," <u>Women, Culture and Society</u>, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Discusses matrifocality among the matrilineal Minangkabau, bilateral Javanese, and patrilineal Atjehnese.

Tanner, N., 1969. "Disputing and Dispute Settlement Among the Minangkabau of Indonesia," Indonesia, 8 (October 1969).

Notes that women as well as men will use law - adat, Islamic, civil, and penal - to assert their rights over land.

- Taylor, Jean, 1974. "Introduction" to "Educate the Javanese", <u>Indonesia</u>, 17 (April 1974)(See also Kartini, Raden Adjeng.)
- Temple, Gordon, 1975. "Migration to Jakarta", B.I.E.S., XI, No. 1 (March 1975).

Some information on women migrants including their reasons for migration and employment available to them in Jakarta.

The, Ilse S., 1975. "To Live with Respect or, Women in Modern Indonesian Novels, from Balai Pustaka to Angkatan '45: A Reflection of Kartini's Ideas and Ideals," unpublished monograph, Berkeley, Spring 1975. (Available from author, S/SEA).

Covers novels written between 1920 -1945. Discusses women's problems in breaking out of traditional restrictions.

Thomas, R. Murray, 1967. "Attitudes Towards Birth Control in Bandung, Indonesia," <u>Indonesia</u>, 4.

Discusses attitudes of various groups of men and women toward birth control and abortion.

Timmer, C. Peter, 1973. "Choice of Technique in Rice Milling in Java", with a comment by William L. Collier, and a reply by C. Peter Timmer; reprint of Agricultural Development Council from B.I.E.S., IX, No. 2 (July 1973).

Timmer discusses revolution in rural Java brought about through introduction of small mechanical rice hullers since 1970. He minimizes effects of displacement of women from employment as hand rice-pounders and maintains that rice hullers are labor intensive, provide a relief from drudgery, and lower the costs of production. Collier's rebuttal claims the effects on women have been tragic since the work was performed principally by poor, landless women. The mechanical hullers do not require as much labor as Timmer claims, but they are popular with farmers because they cut costs.

Timmer, M., 1961. <u>Child Mortality and Population Pressure in the D.I.</u> <u>Jogjakarta, Java, Indonesia, Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.</u>

Information on traditional birth delivery techniques, malnutrition, food beliefs, endemic diseases, and living conditions among poor Javanese which cause high infant mortality rates.

United Nations, 1957 Seminar on the Civic Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life, Bangkok, 5-16 August, 1957, New York: United Nations 1957.

The degree of participation of women is affected by educational, economic, health, social and religious conditions and by community development.

- Vergouwen, J.D., 1964. The Social Organizations and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of North Sumatra, The Hague, M. Nijhoff.
- Vreede-de Stuers, Cora, 1967. "Indonesia", Women in the Modern World, Raphael Patai, ed., New York: Free Press.

Discusses differences in various aspects of women's lives including bride-price; income-earning opportunities; economic insecurity; psychological distress caused by high rate of divorce by repudiation.

Vreede-de Stuers, Cora, 1960. <u>The Indonesian Woman</u>, The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Excellent comprehensive description of all aspects of Indonesian women's lives from the pre-colonial, to colonial, to post-independence period. Discusses women in relation to adat and Islamic Law, the feminist movement, opportunities for academic and vocational training, the Indonesian novel, women's attempts to bring about the passage of a comprehensive marriage law, their role in agriculture, and their entry into the professions.

- Vreede-de Stuers, Cora., 1959. "Marriage in Indonesia", <u>Islamic Review</u>, 47, No. 33.
- Wahjudi, M. 1973. Statistik tentang Wanita dalam Pendidikan Tinggi di Indonesia 1972 (Statistics on Women in Higher Education in Indonesia in 1972), Jakarta: Komisi Nasional Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia (National Commission on the Status of Women), Office of Educational Development, November, 1973.

Statistics for public and private universities and academies.

Wander, Hilde, 1959. Trends and Characteristics of Population Growth in Indonesia, United Nations Technical Assistance Operations, Interim Report, Djakarta, July 1959.

Compares fertility of Javanese women with women of Asia and concludes Javanese women do not have an extraordinarily high fertility rate.

Wertheim, W.F., 1956. <u>Indonesian Society in Transition</u>, The Hague: W. van Hoeve.

Informative references to women's situation during the colonial period.

White, Benjamin, 1973. "Peranan Anak dalam Ekonomi Rumah Tangga Desa di Jawa", Prisma (August 1973), 4,II.

Describes economically valuable and essential tasks in the household and in agriculture performed by girls and boys from an early age in Java.

White, Benjamin, 1974. "Agricultural Involution (A Critical Note)", Jakarta: Agro-Economic Survey, October 1974.

Disputes agricultural involution thesis of shared poverty and postulates that agricultural technology has forced landless men and women into less remunerative and more arduous off-farm labor. Calls for more research on labor needs of the HYV's.

White, Benjamin, 1975. "The Economic Importance of Children in a Javanese Village", <u>Population and Social Organization</u>, Moni Nag, ed., The Hague: Mouton Press.

Notes that girls' contribution, starting as age 9, in terms of time expended per person per day, is larger than boys on the average, and by age 12, they work three to four hours per day in household tasks.

White, Benjamin, 1976a. <u>Production and Reproduction in a Javanese Village</u>, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

Contrasts economic advantages of children with costs of raising them. Concludes that poor women desire family planning more for birth spacing than to reduce family size.

White, Benjamin, 1976b. "Population, Involution and Employment in Rural Java", <u>Development</u> and Change, 7.

Disputes the agricultural involution concept of shared poverty and discusses work patterns of poor, landless men and women in rural Java. Includes time budgets for men and women. Women work longer hours than men, counting household work. Children's work makes a substantial contribution to household maintenance and income.

White, Benjamin, 1976c. Problems in Estimating the Value of Work in Peasant Households: An Example from Rural Java, paper presented at the A/D/C workshop in Hyderbad, February 2-3, 1976.

Examines theories of New Household Economics and suggests the need to distinguish between interior and exterior conceptions of time; also it is more useful in rural areas to think in terms of household, rather than individual time.

Widjojo, Nitisastro, 1970. <u>Population Trends in Indonesia</u>, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Comprehensive statistical analysis through the 1960s of characteristics of Indonesian population.

Willner, Ann Ruth, 1963. "The Adaptation of Peasants to Conditions of Factory Labor: A Case Study in Java," <u>Asian Survey</u> (November 1963), III, No. 11.

Methods of training women to use machinery in textile factory is done in traditional manner; factory work is no more disruptive to home life than other forms of income-earning activity.

Willner, Ann, 1971. "Expanding Women's Horizons in Indonesia: Toward Maximum equality with Minimum Conflict", paper presented at 23rd Annual Meeting of Association of Asian Studies, Washington, D.C. March 29-31, 1971.

Cultural values in Indonesian society are more compatible with the improvement of women's position in Indonesian society than the sexually biased values of American society.

Willner, Ann R., 1962. "From Ricefield to Factory: The Industrialization of a Rural Labor Force in Java", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Accommodation of rural women to mechanical textile factory work in East Java; includes information on marriage and family life of workers, as well.

Winarno, F.G., 1976. "The Role of Vegetables and Legumes in the Nutrition Improvement Program in Indonesia", paper presented at AVRDC's workshop on "Improving Asian Diets - The Role of Vegetables and Legumes", 21-25 June, 1976, Taiwan.

Discusses the fact that pregnant and nursing mothers and rural women of Central and East Java are the most nutritionally disadvantaged in the whole of Indonesia.

Women in Indonesia, Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C. (no date, but must be around 1975.)

Information on marriage, fertility, school attendance, participation in the labor force, family planning, women's organizations and their areas of concern and accomplishments.

Woodsmall, Ruth Frances, 1960. "Women in Indonesia", Women and the New East, Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute.

A detailed account of the progress of Indonesian women up to late 1950s. List of major women's organizations and participation of women in the professions and civil service.

- World Bank, 1975. Integrating Women into Development, prepared for World Conference in International Women's Year, Mexico City, June 19-July 2, 1975.
- Youssef, Nadia Haggag, 1974. <u>Women and Work in Developing Societies</u>, Berkeley: International Population and Urban Research, Institute of International Studies, University of California.

#### ABSTRACTS/SUMMARIES AVAILABLE AT FIS

#### PROYEK PENELITIAN PERANAN WANITA DALAM PEMBANGUNAN

#### Daftar Ringkasan

- Tukunang, C.P., <u>Pernikahan menurut adat di Pulau Siau</u>. Karangan penelitian, stensilan. <u>Pineleng</u>, 1973, 17 hal.
- 2. Anton, Maskim, <u>Perkawinan menurut adat di Kepulauan Kei</u>.

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10.No: 71	Leilani Chairani Bahasyah. Hubungan impersonal antara suami-istri. (t.t)
11.No: 146	Poernomowati Wardi. <u>Sikap wanita terhadap lapangan pekerjaan ba -</u> <u>ru yang khusus untuk wanita</u> . (t.t)

12.No: 56 Raldiati Soegiono. Sikap suami terhadap istri yang bekerja diluar rumah. (t.t) 13.No: 53 Soeharto Hardjan, Ny. SMNA. Suatu usaha penelitian mengenai masalah insecurity feelings dan manifestasinya pada anak-anak ke luarga poligami di Indonesia dewasa ini. 1969 (teoritis) 14.No: 154 Salita Sarwono. Sikap gadis remaja terhadap siklus menstruasi dan penghayatan emosionilnya. 1975 (empiris) 15.No: Vidyana Andika Andikrishna. Sikap sarjana wanita yang menikah terhadap pe ranan majemuk yang didudukinya. 1975 (empiris) 16.No: 104 Zainul B. Biran. Permisiveness dalam hubungan antar jenis sebe lum perkawinan dikalangan remaja SLA Jakarta. (t.t)

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1.	:	77 :	Mary Sihombing :	Peranan wanita Indonesia dalam usaha kopcrasi. (t.t)
2.	:	104 :	Salimah Marianata :	Peranan wanita dalam kerajinan batik. (1959)
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1. 301 D., Soejono.

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